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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,

DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

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TRAVELS

Into several REMOTE NATIONS of the World.

PART II.

A VOYAGE to BROBDINGNAG.

CHAP. I.

A great storm described, the long-boat sent to fetch water, the author goes with it to discover the country. He is left on shore, is seized by one of the natives, and carried to a farmer's house. His reception, with several accidents that happened there. A description of the inhabitants.

HAVING been condemned by nature and fortune to an active and restless life, in two months after my return, I again left my native country, and took shipping in the Downs on the 20th day of June 1702, in the Adventure, Capt. John Nicholas, a Cornish man, commander, bound for Surat. We had a very prosperous gale till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we land-

ed for freſh water, but diſcovering a leak, we unſhipped our goods, and wintered there; for, the captain falling ſick of an ague, we could not leave the Cape till the end of March. We then ſet ſail, and had a good voyage till we paſſed the Streights of Madagaſcar; but having got northward of that iſland, and to about five degrees ſouth latitude, the winds, which in thoſe ſeas are obſerved to blow a conſtant equal gale between the north and weſt, from the beginning of December to the beginning of May, on the 19th of April began to blow with much greater violence, and more weſterly than uſual, continuing ſo for twenty days together, during which time, we were driven a little to the eaſt of the Molucca iſlands, and about three degrees northward of the line, as our captain found by an obſervation he took the 2d of May, at which time the wind ceaſed, and it was a perfect calm, whereat I was not a little rejoiced. But he, being a man well experienced in the navigation of thoſe ſeas, bid us all prepare againſt a ſtorm, which accordingly happened the day following: for a ſouthern wind, called the *ſouthern monſoon*, began to ſet in.

Finding it was like to overblow, we took in our ſprit-ſail, and ſtood by to hand the fore-ſail; but, making foul weather, we looked the guns were all faſt, and handed the mizen. The ſhip lay very broad off, ſo we thought it better ſpooning before the ſea, than trying or hulling. We reeft the fore-ſail and ſet him, and hawled aft the fore ſheet; the helm was hard-a-weather. The ſhip wore bravely. We belayed the fore-down-hall; but the ſail was ſplit, and we hawled down the yard, and got the ſail into the ſhip, and unbound all the things clear of it. It was a very fierce ſtorm; the ſea broke ſtrange and dangerous. We hawled off upon the lanniard of the whip-ſtaff, and helped the man at the helm. We would not get down our top-maſt, but let all ſtand, becauſe ſhe ſcudded before the ſea very well, and

and we knew that, the top-maſt being aloft, the ſhip was the wholſomer, and made better way thro' the ſea, ſeeing we had ſea-room. When the ſtorm was over, we ſet fore ſail and main ſail, and brought the ſhip to. Then we ſet the mizen, main-top-ſail, and the fore-to-ſail. Our courſe was E. N. E. the wind was at S. W. We got the ſtarboard tacks aboard, we caſt off our weather braces and lifts; we ſet in the lee-braces, and hauled forward by the weather-bowlings, and hauled them tight, and belayed them, and hawled over the mizen-tack to windward, and kept her full and by as near as ſhe would lie.

During this ſtorm, which was followed by a ſtrong wind W. S. W. we were carried by my computation about five hundred leagues to the E. ſo that the oldeſt ſailor on board could not tell in what part of the world we were. Our proviſions held out well, our ſhip was ſtaunch, and our crew all in good health; but we lay in the utmoſt diſtreſs for water. We thought it beſt to hold on the ſame courſe, rather than turn more northerly, which might have brought us to the north weſt parts of Great Tartary, and into the frozen ſea.

On the 16th of June, 1703, a boy on the top-maſt diſcovered land. On the 17th, we came in full view of a great iſland or continent, (for we knew not whether,) on the ſouth ſide whereof was a ſmall neck of land jetting out into the ſea, and a creek too ſhallow to hold a ſhip of above one hundred tons. We caſt anchor within a league of this creek, and our captain ſent a dozen of his men well-armed in the long-boat, with veſſels for water, if any could be found. I deſired his leave to go with them, that I might ſee the country, and make what diſcoveries I could. When we came to land, we ſaw no river or ſpring, nor any ſign of inhabitants. Our men therefore wandered on the ſhore to find out ſome freſh water near the ſea, and I walked a-

lone about a mile on the other ſide, where I obſerved the country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and, ſeeing nothing to entertain my curioſity, I returned gently down towards the creek; and the ſea being full in my view, I ſaw our men already got into the boat, and rowing for life to the ſhip. I was going to hollow after them, although it had been to little purpoſe, when I obſerved a huge creature walking after them in the ſea, as faſt as he could; he waded not much deeper than his knees, and took prodigious ſtrides; but our men had the ſtart of him half a league, and, the ſea thereabouts being full of ſharp-pointed rocks, the monſter was not able to overtake the boat. This I was afterwards told, for I durſt not ſtay to ſee the iſſue of the adventure; but ran as faſt as I could the way I firſt went, and then climbed up a ſteep hill, which gave me ſome proſpect of the country. I found it fully cultivated; but that which firſt ſurpriſed me was the length of the graſs, which, in thoſe grounds that ſeemed to be kept for hay, was about twenty feet high.

I fell into a high-road, for ſo I took it to be, though it ſerved to the inhabitants only as a foot-path through a field of barley. Here I walked on for ſome time, but could ſee little on either ſide, it being now near harveſt, and the corn riſing at leaſt forty feet. I was an hour walking to the end of this field, which was fenced in with a hedge of at leaſt one hundred and twenty feet high, and the trees ſo lofty, that I could make no computation of their altitude. There was a ſtile to paſs from this field into the next. It had four ſteps, and a ſtone to croſs over when you came to the uppermoſt. It was impoſſible for me to climb this ſtile, becauſe every ſtep was ſix feet high, and the upper ſtone above twenty. I was endeavouring to find ſome gap in the hedge, when I diſcovered one of the inhabitants in the next field advancing towards the ſtile, of

of the same size with him whom I saw in the sea pursuing our boat. He appeared as tall as an ordinary spire-steeple, and took about ten yards at every stride, as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost fear and astonishment, and ran to hide myself in the corn, from whence I saw him at the top of the stile, looking back into the next field on the right hand, and heard him call in a voice many degrees louder than a speaking trumpet; but the noise was so high in the air, that at first I certainly thought it was thunder. Whereupon seven monsters, like himself, came towards him with reaping hooks in their hands, each hook about the largeness of six scythes. These people were not so well clad as the first, whose servants or labourers they seemed to be: for, upon some words he spoke, they went to reap the corn in the field where I lay. I kept from them at as great a distance as I could, but was forced to move with extreme difficulty, for the stalks of the corn were sometimes not above a foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my body betwixt them. However, I made a shift to go forward, till I came to a part of the field where the corn had been laid by the rain and wind. Here it was impossible for me to advance a step; for the stalks were so interwoven, that I could not creep through, and the beards of the fallen ears so strong and pointed, that they pierced through my cloaths into my flesh. At the same time I heard the reapers not above an hundred yards behind me. Being quite dispirited with toil, and wholly overcome by grief and despair, I lay down between two ridges, and heartily wished I might there end my days. I bemoaned my desolate widow, and fatherless children. I lamented my own folly and wilfulness in attempting a second voyage against the advice of all my friends and relations. In this terrible agitation of mind, I could not forbear thinking of Lilliput, whose inhabitants looked upon me as the great-

eſt prodigy that ever appeared in the world: where I was able to draw an imperial fleet in my hand, and perform thoſe other actions which will be recorded for ever in the chronicles of that empire, while poſterity ſhall hardly believe them, although atteſted by millions. I reflected what a mortification it muſt prove to me, to appear as inconſiderable in this nation, as one ſingle Lilliputian would be among us. But this I conceived was to be the leaſt of my misfortunes: for, as human creatures are obſerved to be more ſavage and cruel, in proportion to their bulk, what could I expect, but to be a morſel in the mouth of the firſt among theſe enormous barbarians, that ſhould happen to ſeize me? Undoubtedly philoſophers are in the right when they tell us, that nothing is great or little otherwiſe than by compariſon. It might have pleaſed fortune to have let the Lilliputians find ſome nation, where the people were as diminitive, with reſpect to them, as they were to me, And who knows but that even this prodigious race of mortals might be equally overmatched in ſome diſtant part of the world, whereof we have yet no diſcovery.

Scared and confounded as I was, I could not forbear going on with theſe reflections, when one of the reapers, approaching within ten yards of the ridge where I lay, made me apprehend, that, with the next ſtep, I ſhould be ſquaſhed to death under his foot, or cut in two with his reaping hook. And therefore, when he was again about to move, I ſcreamed as loud as fear could make me. Whereupon the huge creature trod ſhort, and, looking round about under him, for ſome time, at laſt eſpied me as I lay on the ground. He conſidered a while with the caution of one who endeavours to lay hold on a ſmall dangerous animal, in ſuch a manner that it ſhall not be able either to ſcratch or to bite him, as I myſelf have ſometimes done with a weaſel in England. At length he ventured to take

me

me up behind by the middle, between his fore-finger and thumb, and brought me within three yards of his eyes, that he might behold my ſhape more perfectly. I gueſſed his meaning, and my good fortune gave me ſo much preſence of mind, that I reſolved not to ſtruggle in the leaſt as he held me in the air, above ſixty feet from the ground, although he grievouſly pinched my ſides, for fear I ſhould ſlip through his fingers. All I ventured was, to raiſe mine eyes towards the ſun, and place my hands together in a ſupplicating poſture, and to ſpeak ſome words in an humble melancholy tone, ſuitable to the condition I then was in. For I apprehended every moment that he would daſh me againſt the ground, as we uſually do any little hateful animal, which we have a-mind to deſtroy *. But my good ſtar would have it, that he appeared pleaſed with my voice and geſtures, and began to look upon me as a curioſity, much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate words, although he could not underſtand them. In the mean time, I was not able to forbear groaning and ſhedding tears, and turning my head towards my ſides; letting him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the preſſure of his thumb and finger. He ſeemed to apprehend my meaning; for, lifting up the lappet of his coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me to his maſter, who was a ſubſtantial farmer, and the ſame perſon I had firſt ſeen in the field.

The farmer having (as I ſuppoſe by their talk,) received ſuch an account of me as his ſervant could give him, took a piece of a ſmall ſtraw, about the

* Our inattention to the feliciity of ſenſitive beings merely becauſe they are ſmall, is here forcibly reproved: Many have wantonly cruſhed an inſect, who would ſhudder at cutting the throat of a dog; but it ſhould always be remembered, that the leaſt of theſe

"In mortal ſuffering feels a pang as great
"As when a giant dies.

ſize

fizeof a walking-ſtaff, and therewith lifted up the lappets of my coat; which it ſeems he thought to be ſome kind of covering that Nature had given me. He blew my hairs aſide to take a better view of my face. He called his hinds about him, and aſked them, (as I afterwards learned,) whether they had ever ſeen in the fields, any little creature that reſembled me: he then placed me ſoftly on the ground upon all four, but I got immediately up, and walked ſlowly backwards and forwards, to let thoſe people ſee I had no intent to run away. They all ſat down in a circle about me, the better to obſerve my motions. I pulled off my hat, and made a low bow towards the farmer. I fell on my knees, and lifted up my hands and eyes, and ſpoke ſeveral words as loud as I could: I took a purſe of gold out of my pocket, and humbly preſented it to him. He received it on the palm of his hand, then applied it cloſe to his eye to ſee what it was, and afterwards turned it ſeveral times with the point of a pin, (which he took out of his ſleeve,) but could make nothing of it. Whereupon I made a ſign that he ſhould place his hand on the ground. I then took the purſe, and, opening it, poured all the gold into his palm. There were ſix Spaniſh pieces, of four piſtoles each, beſides twenty or thirty ſmaller coins. I ſaw him wet the tip of his little finger upon his tongue, and take up one of my largeſt pieces, and then another, but he ſeemed to be wholly ignorant what they were. He made me a ſign to put them again into my purſe, and the purſe again into my pocket, which, after offering it to him ſeveral times, I thought it beſt to do.

The farmer by this time was convinced I muſt be a rational creature. He ſpoke often to me, but the ſound of his voice pierced my ears like that of a water-mill, yet his words were articulate enough. I anſwered as loud as I could in ſeveral languages, and he often laid his ear within two yards of me; but

but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other. He then ſent his ſervants to their work, and taking his handkerchief out of his pocket, he doubled and ſpread it on his left hand, which he placed flat on the ground, with the palm upwards, making me a ſign to ſtep into it, as I could eaſily do, for it was not above a foot in thickneſs. I thought it my part to obey, and, for fear of falling, laid myſelf at full length upon the handkerchief, with the remainder of which he lapped me up to the head for farther ſecurity, and in this manner carried me home to his houſe. There he called his wife, and ſhewed me to her: but ſhe ſcreamed and ran back, as women in England do at the ſight of a toad or a ſpider However, when ſhe had a while ſeen my behaviour, and how well I obſerved the ſigns her huſband made, ſhe was ſoon reconciled, and by degrees grew extremely tender of me.

It was about twelve at noon, and a ſervant brought in dinner. It was only one ſubſtantial diſh of meat (fit for the plain condition of an huſbandman) in a diſh of about four and twenty feet diameter. The company were the farmer and his wife, three children and an old grandmother: when they were ſat down, the farmer placed me at ſome diſtance from him on the table, which was thirty feet high from the floor. I was in a terrible fright and kept as far as I could from the edge for fear of falling. The wife minced a bit of meat, then crumbled ſome bread on a trencher, and placed it before me. I made her a low bow, took out my knife and fork, and fell to eat, which gave them exceeding delight. The miſtreſs ſent her maid for a ſmall dram-cup, which held about two gallons, and filled it with drink; I took up the veſſel with much difficulty in both hands, and in a moſt reſpectful manner drank to her Ladyſhip's health, expreſſing the words as loud as I could in Engliſh, which

which made the company laugh ſo heartily, that I was almoſt deafened with the noiſe. This liquor taſted like a ſmall cyder, and was not unpleaſant. Then the maſter made me a ſign to come to his trencher ſide; but as I walked on the table, being in great ſurprize all the time, as the indulgent reader will eaſily conceive and excuſe, I happened to ſtumble againſt a cruſt, and fell flat on my face, but received no hurt. I got up immediately, and obſerving the good people to be in much concern, I took my hat (which I held under my arm out of good manners,) and, waving it over my head, made three huzzas, to ſhew I had got no miſchief by my fall. But advancing forwards toward my maſter, (as I ſhall henceforth call him,) his youngeſt ſon, who ſat next him, an arch boy of about ten years old, took me up by the legs, and held me ſo high in the air, that I trembled every limb; but his father ſnatched me from him, and at the ſame time gave him ſuch a box on the left ear, as would have felled an European troop of horſe to the earth, ordering him to be taken from the table. But being afraid the boy might owe me a ſpight, and well remembering how miſchievous all children among us naturally are to ſparrows, rabbits, young kittens, and puppy dogs, I fell on my knees, and pointing to the boy, made my maſter to underſtand, as well as I could, that I deſired his ſon might be pardoned. The father complied, and the lad took his ſeat again; whereupon I went to him and kiſſed his hand, which my maſter took, and made him ſtroak me gently with it.

In the midſt of dinner, my miſtreſs's favourite cat leapt into her lap. I heard a noiſe behind me like that of a dozen ſtocking-weavers at work; and, turning my head, I found it proceeded from the purring of that animal, who ſeemed to be three times larger than an ox, as I computed by the view of her head, and one of her paws, while her miſtreſs

treſs was feeding and ſtroaking her. The fierceneſs of this creature's countenance altogether diſcompoſed me; though I ſtood at the further end of the table, above fifty feet off; and although my miſtreſs held her faſt, for fear ſhe might give a ſpring, and ſeize me in her talons. But it happened there was no danger; for the cat took not the leaſt notice of me, when my maſter placed me within three yards of her. And as I have been always told, and found true by experience in my travels, that flying or diſcovering fear before a fierce animal is a certain way to make it purſue or attack you, ſo I reſolved in this dangerous juncture to ſhew no manner of concern. I walked with intrepidity five or ſix times before the very head of the cat, and came within half a yard of her; whereupon ſhe drew herſelf back, as if ſhe were more afraid of me: I had leſs apprehenſion concerning the dogs, whereof three or four came into the room, as it is uſual in farmers houſes; one of which was a maſtiff equal in bulk to four elephants, and a greyhound ſomewhat taller than the maſtiff, but not ſo large.

When dinner was almoſt done, the nurſe came in with a child of a year old in her arms, who immediately ſpied me, and began a ſquall, that you might have heard from London-bridge to Chelſea, after the uſual oratory of infants to get me for a play-thing. The mother out of pure indulgence took me up, and put me towards the child, who preſently ſeized me by the middle, and got my head into his mouth, where I roared ſo loud, that the urchin was frighted, and let me drop, and I ſhould infallibly have broke my neck, if the mother had not held her apron under me. The nurſe to quiet her babe made uſe of a rattle, which was a kind of hollow veſſel filled with great ſtones, and faſtened by a cable to the child's waiſt: but all in vain, ſo that ſhe was forced to apply the laſt remedy by giving it ſuck. I muſt confeſs no object ever diſguſted me

me so much as the sight of her monstrous breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with, so as to give the curious reader an idea of its bulk, shape, and colour. It stood prominent six feet, and could not be less than sixteen in circumference. The nipple was about half the bigness of my head, and the hue both of that and the dug so varified with spots, pimples, and freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous: for I had a near sight of her, she sitting down, the more conveniently to give suck, and I standing on the table. This made me reflect upon the fair skins of our English ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own size, and their defects not to be seen but thro' a magnifying-glass, where we find by experiment, that the smoothest and whitest skins look rough and coarse, and ill-coloured.

I remember, when I was at Lilliput, the complexions of those diminutive people appeared to me the fairest in the world; and talking upon this subject with a person of learning there, who was an intimate friend of mine, he said, that my face appeared much fairer and smoother when he looked on me from the ground, than it did upon a nearer view when I took him up in my hand and brought him close, which he confessed was at first a very shocking sight. He said he could discover great holes in my skin; that the stumps of my beard were ten times stronger than the bristles of a boar, and my complexion made up of several colours altogether disagreeable: although I must beg leave to say for myself, that I am as fair as most of my sex and country, and very little sun burnt by all my travels. On the other side, discoursing of the ladies in that Emperor's court, he used to tell me, one had freckles, another too wide a mouth, a third too large a nose, nothing of which I was able to distinguish. I confess, this reflexion was obvious enough; which however I could not forbear, lest the reader might think

think those vast creatures were actually deformed: for I must do them justice to say, they are a comely race of people; and particularly the features of my master's countenance; although he were but a farmer, when I beheld him from the height of sixty feet, appeared very well proportioned.

When dinner was done, my master went out to his labourers, and, as I could discover by his voice and gesture, gave his wife a strict charge to take care of me. I was very much tired, and disposed to sleep, which my mistress perceiving, she put me on her own bed, and covered me with a clean white handkerchief, but larger and coarser than the mainsail of a man of war.

I slept about two hours, and dreamed I was at home with my wife and children, which aggravated my sorrows when I awaked, and found myself alone in a vast room, between two and three hundred feet wide, and above two hundred high, lying in a bed twenty yards wide. My mistress was gone about her household-affairs, and had locked me in. The bed was eight yards from the floor. Some natural necessities required me to get down; I durst not presume to call, and, if I had, it would have been in vain with such a voice as mine, at so great a distance as from the room where I lay to the kitchen where the family kept. While I was under these circumstances, two rats crept up the curtains, and ran smelling backwards and forwards on the bed. One of them came up almost to my face, whereupon I rose in a fright, and drew out my hanger to defend myself. These horrible animals had the boldness to attack me on both sides, and one of them held his fore-feet at my collar; but I had the good fortune to rip up his belly, before he could do me any mischief. He fell down at my feet, and the other, seeing the fate of his comrade, made his escape, but not without one good wound on the back, which I gave him as he fled, and made the

blood run trickling from him. After this exploit, I walked gently to and fro on the bed to recover my breath, and loss of spirits These creatures were of the size of a large mastiff, but infinitely more nimble and fierce, so that, if I had taken off my belt before I went to sleep, I must have infallibly been torn to pieces and devoured. I measured the tail of the dead rat, and found it to be two yards long, wanting an inch; but it went against my stomach to drag the carcase off the bed where it lay still bleeding; I observed it had yet some life, but, with a strong flash cross the neck, I thoroughly dispatched it.

Soon after my mistress came into the room, who, seeing me all bloody, ran and took me up in her hand. I pointed to the dead rat, smiling and making other signs to shew I was not hurt, whereat she was extremely rejoiced, calling the maid to take up the dead rat with a pair of tongs, and throw it out of the window. Then she set me on a table, where I shewed her my hanger all bloody, and, wiping it on the lappet of my coat, returned it to the scabbard. I was pressed to do more than one thing, which another could not do for me, and therefore endeavoured to make my mistress understand, that I desired to be set down on the floor; which, after she had done, my bashfulness would not suffer me to express myself farther, than by pointing to the door, and bowing several times. The good woman, with much difficulty, at last perceived what I would be at, and taking me up again in her hand, walked into the garden, where she set me down. I went on one side about two hundred yards, and beckoning to her not to look or to follow me, I hid myself between two leaves of sorrel, and there discharged the necessities of nature.

I hope the gentle reader will excuse me for dwelling on these and the like particulars, which, however

ever insignificant they may appear to groveling vulgar minds, yet will certainly help a philosopher to enlarge his thoughts and imagination, and apply them to the benefit of public as well as private life, which was my sole design in presenting this and other accounts of my travels to the world; wherein I have been chiefly studious of truth, without affecting any ornaments of learning or of style. But the whole scene of this voyage made so strong an impression on my mind, and is so deeply fixed in my memory, that, in committing it to paper, I did not omit one material circumstance: however, upon a strict review, I blotted out several passages of less moment which were in my first copy, for fear of being censured as tedious and trifling, whereof travellers are often, perhaps not without justice, accused.

CHAP. II.

A description of the farmer's daughter. The author carried to a market-town, and then to the metropolis. The particulars of his journey.

MY mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of towardly parts for her age, very dexterous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby. Her mother and she contrived to fit up the baby's cradle for me against night: the cradle was put into a small drawer of a cabinet, and the drawer placed upon a hanging shelf for fear of the rats. This was my bed all the time I stayed with those people, though made more convenient by degrees, as I began to learn their language, and make my wants known. This young girl was so handy, that, after I had once or twice pulled off my cloaths be-

fore her, she was able to dress and undress me, though I never gave her that trouble, when she would let me do either myself. She made me seven shirts, and some other linen, of as fine cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than sackcloth; and these she constantly washed for me with her own hands. She was likewise my schoolmistress to teach me the language: when I pointed to any thing, she told me the name of it in her own tongue, so that in a few days I was able to call for whatever I had a mind to. She was very good-natured, and not above forty feet high, being little for her age. She gave me the name of *Grildrig*, which the family took up, and afterwards the whole kingdom. The word imports what the Latins call *nannuculus*, the Italians *homunceletino*, and the English *mannikin*. To her I chiefly owe my preservation in that country: we never parted while I was there; I called her my *Glumdalclitch*, or *little nurse*; and should be guilty of great ingratitude, if I omitted this honourable mention of her care and affection towards me, which I heartily wish it lay in my power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent, but unhappy instrument of her disgrace, as I have too much reason to fear.

It now began to be known and talked of in the neighbourhood, that my master had found a strange animal in the field, about the bigness of a *splacknuck*, but exactly shaped in every part like a human creature; which it likewise imitated in all its actions; seemed to speak in a little language of its own, had already learned several words of theirs, went erect upon two legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest limbs in the world, and a complexion fairer than a nobleman's daughter of three years old. Another farmer, who lived hard by, and was a particular friend of my master, came on a visit on purpose

purpose to enquire into the truth of this story. I was immediately produced, and placed upon a table, where I walked as I was commanded, drew my hanger, put it up again, made my reverence to my master's guest, asked him in his own language how he did, and told him he was welcome, just as my little nurse had instructed me. This man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his spectacles to behold me better, at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily, for his eyes appeared like the full moon shining into a chamber at two windows. Our people, who discovered the cause of my mirth, bore me company in laughing, at which the old fellow was fool enough to be angry and out of countenance. He had the character of a great miser, and, to my misfortune, he well deserved it, by the cursed advice he gave my master, to shew me as a sight upon a market-day in the next town, which was half an hour's riding, about two and twenty miles from our house. I guessed there was some mischief contriving, when I observed my master and his friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me; and my fears made me fancy, that I overheard and understood some of their words. But the next morning Glumdalclitch, my little nurse, told me the whole matter, which she had cunningly picked out from her mother. The poor girl laid me on her bosom, and fell a weeping with shame and grief. She apprehended some mischief would happen to me from rude vulgar folks, who might squeeze me to death, or break one of my limbs by taking me in their hands. She had also observed how modest I was in my nature, how nicely I regarded my honour, and what an indignity I should conceive it to be exposed for money as a public spectacle to the meanest of the people. She said, her papa and mama had promised that Grildrig should be hers, but now she found they meant to serve her as they did last year, when they pre-

tended to give her a lamb, and yet, as ſoon as it was fat, ſold it to a butcher. For my own part, I may truly affirm, that I was leſs concerned than my nurſe. I had a ſtrong hope, which never left me, that I ſhould one day recover my liberty; and, as to the ignominy of being carried about for a monſter, I conſidered myſelf to be a perfect ſtranger in the country, and that ſuch a misfortune could never be charged upon me as a reproach, if ever I ſhould return to England; ſince the King of Great Britain himſelf, in my condition, muſt have undergone the ſame diſtreſs.

My maſter, purſuant to the advice of his friend, carried me in a box the next market-day, to the neighbouring town, and took along with him his little daughter, my nurſe, upon a pillion behind him. The box was cloſe on every ſide, with a little door for me to go in and out, and a few gimlet-holes to let in air. The girl had been ſo careful as to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it, for me to lie down on. However, I was terribly ſhaken and diſcompoſed in this journey, though it were but of half an hour. For the horſe went about forty feet at every ſtep, and trotted ſo high, that the agitation was equal to the riſing and falling of a ſhip in a great ſtorm, but much more frequent: our journey was ſomewhat farther than from London to St. Alban's. My maſter alighted at an inn which he uſed to frequent; and, after conſulting a while with the inn-keeper, and making ſome neceſſary preparations, he hired the *grultrud*, or crier, to give notice through the town, of a ſtrange creature to be ſeen at the ſign of the Green Eagle, not ſo big as a *ſplacnuck* (an animal in that country very finely ſhaped, about ſix feet long,) and in every part of the body reſembling an human creature, could ſpeak ſeveral words, and perform an hundred diverting tricks.

I was placed upon a table in the largeſt room of the

the inn, which might be near three hundred feet ſquare. My little nurſe ſtood on a low ſtool cloſe to the table, to take care of me, and direct what I ſhould do. My maſter, to avoid a croud, would ſuffer only thirty people at a time to ſee me. I walked about on the table as the girl commanded: ſhe aſked me queſtions, as far as ſhe knew my underſtanding of the language reached, and I anſwered them as loud as I could. I turned about ſeveral times to the company, paid my humble reſpects, ſaid they were welcome, and uſed ſome other ſpeeches I had been taught. I took up a thimble filled with liquor, which Glumdalclitch had given me for a cup, and drank their health. I drew out my hanger, and flouriſhed with it after the manner of fencers in England. My nurſe gave me part of a ſtraw, which I exerciſed as a pike, having learned the art in my youth. I was that day ſhewn to twelve ſets of company, and as often forced to act over again the ſame fopperies, till I was half dead with wearineſs and vexation. For thoſe who had ſeen me made ſuch wonderful reports, that the people were ready to break down the doors to come in. My maſter, for his own intereſt, would not ſuffer any one to touch me, except my nurſe; and, to prevent danger, benches were ſet round the table at ſuch a diſtance, as to put me out of every body's reach. However, an unlucky ſchool-boy aimed a hazel-nut directly at my head, which very narrowly miſſed me; otherwiſe, it came with ſo much violence, that it would have infallibly knocked out my brains, for it was almoſt as large as a ſmall pompion: but I had the ſatisfaction to ſee the young rogue well beaten, and turned out of the room.

My maſter gave public notice, that he would ſhew me again the next market-day, and in the mean time he prepared a more convenient vehicle for me, which he had reaſon enough to do; for I was ſo tired with my firſt journey, and with entertaining company

company for eight hours together, that I could hardly ſtand upon my legs, or ſpeak a word. It was at leaſt three days before I recovered my ſtrength; and that I might have no reſt at home, all the neighbouring gentlemen, from an hundred miles round, hearing of my fame, came to ſee me at my maſter's own houſe. There could not be fewer than thirty perſons with their wives and children, (for the country is very populous); and my maſter demanded the rate of a full room, whenever he ſhewed me at home, although it were only to a ſingle family: ſo that for ſome time I had but little eaſe every day of the week, (except Wedneſday, which is their Sabbath,) although I were not carried to the town.

My maſter, finding how profitable I was like to be, reſolved to carry me to the moſt conſiderable cities of the kingdom. Having therefore provided himſelf with all things neceſſary for a long journey, and ſettled his affairs at home, he took leave of his wife, and, upon the 17th of Auguſt, 1703, about two months after my arrival, we ſet out for the metropolis, ſituated near the middle of that empire, and about three thouſand miles diſtance from our houſe: my maſter made his daughter Glumdalclitch ride behind him. She carried me on her lap in a box tied about her waiſt. The girl had lined it on all ſides with the ſofteſt cloth ſhe could get, well quilted underneath, furniſhed it with her baby's bed, provided me with linen and other neceſſaries, and made every thing as convenient as ſhe could. We had no other company but a boy of the houſe, who rode after us with the luggage.

My maſter's deſign was to ſhew me in all the towns by the way, and to ſtep out of the road for fifty or an hundred miles, to any village, or perſon of quality's houſe, where he might expect cuſtom. We made eaſy journies of not above ſeven or eight ſcore miles a day: for Glumdalclitch, on purpoſe to

to ſpare me, complained ſhe was tired with the trotting of the horſe. She often took me out of my box at my own deſire, to give me air, and ſhew me the country, but always held me faſt by a leading-ſtring. We paſſed over five or ſix rivers many degrees broader and deeper than the Nile, or the Ganges; and there was hardly a rivulet ſo ſmall as the Thames at London-bridge. We were ten weeks in our journey, and I was ſhewn in eighteen large towns, beſides many villages and private families.

On the 26th of October, we arrived at the metropolis, called in their language *Lorbrulgrud*, or *Pride of the Univerſe*. My maſter took a lodging in the principal ſtreet of the city, not far from the royal palace, and put out bills in the uſual form, containing an exact deſcription of my perſon and parts. He hired a large room between three and four hundred feet wide. He provided a table ſixty feet in diameter, upon which I was to act my part, and palliſadoed it round three feet from the edge, and as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was ſhewn ten times a-day, to the wonder and ſatisfaction of all people I could now ſpeak the language tolerably well, and perfectly underſtood every word that was ſpoken to me. Beſides, I had learned their alphabet, and could make a ſhift to explain a ſentence here and there; for Glumdalclitch had been my inſtructor while we were at home, and at leiſure-hours during our journey. She carried a little book in her pocket, not much larger than a Samſon's Atlas; it was a common treatiſe for the uſe of young girls, giving a ſhort account of their religion: out of this ſhe taught me my letters, and interpreted the words.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The author ſent for to court. The Queen buys him of his maſter the farmer, and preſents him to the King. He diſputes with his Majeſty's great ſcholars. An apartment at court provided for the author. He is in high favour with the Queen. He ſtands up for the honour of his own country. His quarrels with the Queen's dwarf.

THE frequent labours I underwent every day, made in few weeks a very conſiderable change in my health: the more my maſter got by me, the more inſatiable he grew. I had quite loſt my ſtomach, and was almoſt reduced to a ſkeleton. The farmer obſerved it, and, concluding I muſt ſoon die, reſolved to make as good a hand of me as he could. While he was thus reaſoning and reſolving with himſelf, a *ſardral*, or gentleman-uſher, came from court, commanding my maſter to carry me immediately thither for the diverſion of the queen and her ladies. Some of the latter had already been to ſee me, and reported ſtrange things of my beauty, behaviour, and good ſenſe. Her Majeſty, and thoſe who attended her, were beyond meaſure delighted with my demeanour. I fell on my knees, and begged the honour of kiſſing her imperial foot; but this gracious princeſs held out her little finger towards me, (after I was ſet on a table,) which I embraced in both my arms, and put the tip of it with the utmoſt reſpect to my lip. She made me ſome general queſtions about my country, and my travels, which I anſwered as diſtinctly, and in as few words as I could. She aſked, whether I would be content to live at court. I bowed down to the board

board of the table, and humbly anſwerd, that I was my maſter's ſlave; but, if I were at my own diſpoſal, I ſhould be proud to devote my life to her Majeſty's ſervice. She then aſked my maſter, whether he were willing to ſell me at a good price. He, who apprehended I could not live a month, was ready enough to part with me, and demanded a thouſand pieces of gold, which were ordered him on the ſpot, each piece being about the bigneſs of eight hundred moydores; but, allowing for the proportion of all things between that country and Europe, and the high price of gold among them, was hardly ſo great a ſum as a thouſand guineas would be in England. I then ſaid to the Queen, ſince I was now her Majeſty's moſt humble creature and vaſſal, I muſt beg the favour, that Glumdalclitch, who had always tended me with ſo much care and kindneſs, and underſtood to do it ſo well, might be admitted into her ſervice, and continue to be my nurſe and inſtructor. Her Majeſty agreed to my petition, and eaſily got the farmer's conſent, who was glad enough to have his daughter preferred at court, and the poor girl herſelf was not able to hide her joy: my late maſter withdrew, bidding me farewell, and ſaying he had left me in a good ſervice; to which I replied not a word, only making him a ſlight bow.

The Queen obſerved my coldneſs, and, when the farmer was gone out of the apartment, aſked me the reaſon. I made bold to tell her Majeſty, that I owed no other obligation to my late maſter, than his not daſhing out the brains of a poor harmleſs creature found by chance in his field; which obligation was amply recompenſed by the gain he had made in ſhewing me through half the kingdom, and the price he had now ſold me for. That the life I had ſince led, was laborious enough to kill an animal of ten times my ſtrength. That my health was much impaired by the continual drudgery of entertaining the

the rabble every hour of the day, and that, if my maſter had not thought my life in danger, her Majeſty would not have got ſo cheap a bargain. But as I was out of all fear of being ill treated under the protection of ſo great and good an empreſs, the ornament of nature, the darling of the world, the delight of her ſubjects, the phœnix of the creation; ſo, I hoped my late maſter's apprehenſions would appear to be groundleſs, for I already found my ſpirits to revive by the influence of her moſt auguſt preſence.

This was the ſum of my ſpeech, delivered with great improprieties and heſitation; the latter part was altogether framed in the ſtyle peculiar to that people, whereof I learned ſome phraſes from Glumdalclitch, while ſhe was carrying me to court.

The Queen, giving great allowance for my defectiveneſs in ſpeaking, was however ſurpriſed at ſo much wit and good ſenſe in ſo diminutive an animal. She took me in her own hand, and carried me to the King, who was then retired to his cabinet. His Majeſty, a prince of much gravity and auſtere countenance, not well obſerving my ſhape at firſt view, aſked the Queen after a cold manner, how long it was ſince ſhe grew fond of a ſplacnuck; for ſuch it ſeems he took me to be, as I lay upon my breaſt in her Majeſty's right hand. But this princeſs, who hath an infinite deal of wit and humour, ſet me gently on my feet upon the ſcrutore, and commanded me to give his Majeſty an account of myſelf, which I did in a very few words; and Glumdalclitch, who attended at the cabinet-door, and could not endure I ſhould be out of her ſight, being admitted, confirmed all that had paſſed from my arrival at her father's houſe.

The King, although he be as learned a perſon as any in his dominions, had been educated in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and particularly mathematics; yet when he obſerved my ſhape exactly, and ſaw me walk

walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a piece of clock-work, (which is in that country arrived to a very great perfection,) contrived by some ingenious artist. But when he heard my voice, and found what I delivered to be regular and rational, he could not conceal his astonishment. He was by no means satisfied with the relation I gave him of the manner I came into his kingdom, but thought it a story concerted between Glumdalclitch and her father, who had taught me a set of words to make me sell at a better price. Upon this imagination he put several other questions to me, and still received rational answers, no otherwise defective than by a foreign accent, and an imperfect knowledge in the language, with some rustic phrases, which I had learned at the farmer's house, and did not suit the polite style of a court.

His Majesty sent for three great scholars, who were then in their weekly waiting according to the custom in that country. These gentlemen, after they had a while examined my shape with much nicety, were of different opinions concerning me. They all agreed, that I could not be produced according to the regular laws of nature, because I was not framed with a capacity of preserving my life either by swiftness, or climbing of trees, or digging holes in the earth. They observed by my teeth, which they viewed with great exactness, that I was a carnivorous animal; yet most quadrupeds being an overmatch for me, and field mice with some others too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support myself, unless I fed upon snails and other insects, which they offered, by many learned arguments, to evince that I could not possibly do *. One of these virtuosi seemed to think that I might

* By this reasoning the author probably intended to ridicule the pride of these philosophers, who have thought fit to arraign the wisdom of Providence in the creation and government of the world; whose

I might be an embryo, or abortive birth. But this opinion was rejected by the other two, who obſerved my limbs to be perfect and finiſhed, and that I had lived ſeveral years, as it was manifeſt from my beard, the ſtumps whereof they plainly diſcovered through a magnifying glaſs. They would not allow me to be a dwarf, becauſe my littleneſs was beyond all degrees of compariſon; for the Queen's favourite dwarf, the ſmalleſt ever known in that kingdom, was near thirty feet high. After much debate they concluded unanimouſly, that I was only *relplum ſcalcath*, which is interpeted literally *luſus naturæ*; a determination exactly agreeable to the modern philoſophy of Europe, whoſe profeſſors, diſdaining the old evaſion of *occult cauſes*, whereby the followers of Ariſtotle endeavoured in vain to diſguiſe their ignorance, have invented this wonderful ſolution of all difficulties, to the unſpeakable advancement of human knowledge.

After this deciſive concluſion I entreated to be heard a word or two. I applied myſelf to the King, and aſſured his Majeſty, that I came from a country, which abounded with ſeveral millions of both ſexes and of my own ſtature; where the animals, trees, and houſes, were all in proportion, and where by conſequence I might be as able to defend myſelf, and to find ſuſtenance, as any of his Majeſty's ſubjects could do here; which I took for a full anſwer to thoſe gentlemens arguments. To this they only replied with a ſmile of contempt, ſaying, that the farmer had inſtructed me very well in my leſſon *. The King, who had a much better underſtanding, diſmiſſing his learned men, ſent for the farmer, who by good fortune was not yet gone out of town; having therefore firſt examined him

whoſe cavils are ſpecious, like thoſe of the Brobdingnagian ſages, only in proportion to the ignorance of thoſe to whom they are propoſed.

* This ſatire is levelled againſt all, who reject thoſe facts for which they cannot perfectly account, notwithſtanding the abſurdity of rejecting the teſtimony by which they are ſupported.

privately,

privately, and then confronted him with me and the young girl, his Majesty began to think that what we told him might possibly be true. He desired the Queen to order, that a particular care should be taken of me, and was of opinion, that Glumdalclitch should still continue in her office of tending me, because he observed we had a great affection for each other. A convenient apartment was provided for her at court; she had a sort of governess appointed to take care of her education, a maid to dress her, and two other servants for menial offices; but the care of me was wholly appropriated to herself. The Queen commanded her own cabinet-maker to contrive a box, that might serve me for a bed-chamber, after the model that Glumdalclitch and I should agree upon. This man was a most ingenious artist, and, according to my directions, in three weeks finished for me a wooden chamber of sixteen feet square, and twelve high, with sash-windows, a door, and two closets, like a London bed-chamber. The board, that made the cieling, was to be lifted up and down by two hinges, to put in a bed ready-furnished by her Majesty's upholsterer, which Glumdalclitch took out every day to air, made it with her own hands, and letting it down at night, locked up the roof over me. A nice workman, who was famous for little curiosities, undertook to make me two chairs, with backs and frames, of a substance not unlike ivory, and two tables, with a cabinet to put my things in. The room was quilted on all sides, as well as the floor and the cieling, to prevent any accident from the carelessness of those who carried me, and to break the force of a jolt when I went in a coach. I desired a lock for my door to prevent rats and mice from coming in: the smith, after several attempts, made the smallest that ever was seen among them, for I have known a larger at the gate of a gentleman's house in England. I made a shift to keep the key in a pocket of

my own, fearing Glumdalclitch might loſe it. The Queen likewiſe ordered the thinneſt ſilks that could be gotten to make me cloaths, not much thicker than an Engliſh blanket, very cumberſome, till I was accuſtomed to them They were after the faſhion of the kingdom, partly reſembling the Perſian, and partly the Chineſe, and are a very grave and decent habit.

The Queen became ſo fond of my company, that ſhe could not dine without me. I had a table placed upon the ſame at which her Majeſty eat, juſt at her left elbow, and a chair to ſit on. Glumdalclitch ſtood on a ſtool on the floor near my table to aſſiſt and take care of me. I had an entire ſet of ſilver-diſhes and plates and other neceſſaries, which, in proportion to thoſe of the Queen, were not much bigger than what I have ſeen in a London toy-ſhop, for the furniture of a baby-houſe: theſe my little nurſe kept in her pocket in a ſilver box, and gave me at meals as I wanted them, always cleaning them herſelf. No perſon dined with the Queen but the two princeſſes royal, the elder 16 years old, and the younger at that time 13 and a month. Her Majeſty uſed to put a bit of meat upon one of my diſhes, out of which I carved for myſelf; and her diverſion was to ſee me eat in miniature. For the Queen (who had indeed but a weak ſtomach,) took up, at one mouthful, as much as a dozen Engliſh farmers could eat at a meal, which to me was for ſome time a very nauſeous ſight *. She would cranch the wing

* Among other dreadful and diſguſting images, which cuſtom has rendered familiar, are thoſe which ariſe from eating animal food. He, who has ever been ſhocked with abhorrence from the ſkeleton of a beaſt which has been picked whole by birds or vermin, muſt confeſs, that habit only could have enabled him to endure the ſight of the mangled bones and fleſh of a dead carcaſe, which every day cover his table: and he, who reflects on the number of lives that have been ſacrificed to ſuſtain his own, ſhould enquire by what the account has been balanced, and whether his life is become proportionably of more value, by the exerciſe of virtue and piety, by the ſuperior happineſs which he

wing of a lark, bones and all, between her teeth, although it were nine times as large as that of a full-grown turkey; and put a bit of bread in her mouth, as big as two twelve-penny loaves. She drank out of a golden cup, above a hogſhead at a draught. Her knives were twice as long as a ſcythe, ſet ſtrait upon the handle. The ſpoons, forks, and other inſtruments, were all in the ſame proportion. I remember, when Glumdalclitch carried me out of curioſity to ſee ſome of the tables at court, where ten or a dozen of theſe enormous knives and forks were lifted up together, I thought I had never till then beheld ſo terrible a ſight.

It is the cuſtom, that every Wedneſday (which, as I have before obſerved, is their Sabbath,) the King and Queen, with the royal iſſue of both ſexes, dine together in the apartment of his Majeſty, to whom I was now become a great favourite; and at theſe times my little chair and table were placed at his left hand before one of the ſalt-cellars. This prince took a pleaſure in converſing with me, enquiring into the manners, religion, laws, government, and learning of Europe; wherein I gave him the beſt account I was able. His apprehenſion was ſo clear, and his judgment ſo exact, that he made very wiſe reflections and obſervations upon all I ſaid. But I confeſs, that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved country, of our trade, and wars by ſea and land, of our ſchiſms in religion, and parties in the ſtate; the prejudices of his education prevailed ſo far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right hand, and ſtroaking me gently with the other, after an hearty fit of laughing, aſked me, whether I was a Whig or Tory? Then turning to his firſt miniſter, who waited behind him with a white ſtaff, near as tall as the main-maſt of the Royal Sovereign, he obſerved

he has communicated to reaſonable beings, and by the glory which his intellect has ascribed to God.

how contemptible a thing was human grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive insects as I: and yet, says he, I dare engage, these creatures have their titles and distinctions of honour; they contrive little nests and burrows, that they call houses and cities; they make a figure in dress and equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray. And thus he continued on, while my colour came and went several times with indignation, to hear our noble country, the mistress of arts and arms, the scourge of France, the arbitress of Europe, the seat of virtue, piety, honour, and truth, the pride and envy of the world, so contemptuously treated.

But as I was not in a condition to resent injuries, so upon mature thoughts I began to doubt whether I was injured or no. For, after having been accustomed several months to the sight and converse of this people, and observed every object upon which I cast mine eyes to be of proportionable magnitude, the horror I had at first conceived from their bulk and aspect, was so far worn off, that if I had then beheld a company of English lords and ladies in their finery, and birth-day cloaths, acting their several parts in the most courtly manner of strutting, and bowing, and prating; to say the truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them, as the King and his grandees did at me. Neither indeed could I forbear smiling at myself, when the Queen used to place me upon her hand towards a looking glass, by which both our persons appeared before me in full view together; and there could nothing be more ridiculous than the comparison: so that I really began to imagine myself dwindled many degrees below my usual size.

Nothing angered and mortified me so much, as the Queen's dwarf, who, being of the lowest stature that was ever in that country, (for I verily think he was not full thirty feet high,) became so insolent at seeing a creature so much beneath him, that

that he would always affect to swagger, and look big as he passed by me in the Queen's anti-chamber, while I was standing on some table talking with the lords or ladies of the court, and he seldom failed of a smart word or two upon my littleness; against which I could only revenge myself by calling him brother, challenging him to wrestle, and such repartees as are usual in the mouths of court-pages. One day, at dinner, this malicious little cub was so nettled with something I had said to him, that, raising himself upon the frame of her Majesty's chair, he took me up by the middle, as I was sitting down, not thing any harm, and let me drop into a large silver bowl of cream, and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over head and ears, and, if I had not been a good swimmer, it might have gone very hard with me; for Glumdalclitch, in that instant, happened to be at the other end of the room, and the Queen was in such a fright, that she wanted presence of mind to assist me. But my little nurse ran to my relief, and took me out, after I had swallowed above a quart of cream. I was put to bed; however, I received no other damage than the loss of a suit of clothes, which was utterly spoiled. The dwarf was soundly whipped, and, as a farther punishment, forced to drink up the bowl of cream, into which he had thrown me; neither was he ever restored to favour: for soon after the Queen bestowed him on a lady of high quality, so that I saw him no more, to my very great satisfaction; for I could not tell to what extremity such a malicious urchin might have carried his resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy trick, which set the Queen a-laughing, although at the same time she was heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede. Her Majesty had taken a marrow-bone upon her plate, and, after knocking out the marrow, placed the bone again in the dish erect, as

it

it ſtood before; the dwarf watching his opportunity, while Glumdalclitch was gone to the ſide board, mounted the ſtool that ſhe ſtood on to take care of me at meals, took me up in both hands, and ſqueezing my legs together, wedged them into the marrow-bone above my waiſt, where I ſtuck for ſome time, and made a very ridiculous figure. I believe it was near a minute before any one knew what was become of me; for I thought it below me to cry out. But, as princes ſeldom get their meat hot, my legs were not ſcalded, only my ſtockings and breeches in a ſad condition. The dwarf, at my entreaty, had no other puniſhment than a ſound whipping.

I was frequently rallied by the Queen upon account of my fearfulneſs; and ſhe uſed to aſk me, whether the people of my country were as great cowards as myſelf? The occaſion was this: the kingdom is much peſtered with flies in ſummer, and theſe odious inſects, each of them as big as a Dunſtable lark, hardly gave me any reſt while I ſat at dinner, with their continual humming and buzzing about mine ears. They would ſometimes alight upon my victuals, and leave their loathſome excrement or ſpawn behind, which to me was very viſible, though not to the natives of that country, whoſe large optics were not ſo acute as mine in viewing ſmaller objects. Sometimes they would fix upon my noſe or forehead, where they ſtung me to the quick, ſmelling very offenſively; and I could eaſily trace that viſcous matter, which, our naturaliſts tell us, enables thoſe creatures to walk with their feet upwards upon a cieling. I had much ado to defend myſelf againſt theſe deteſtable animals, and could not forbear ſhaking when they came on my face. It was the common practice of the dwarf to catch a number of theſe inſects in his hand, as ſchool-boys do among us, and let them out ſuddenly under my noſe, on purpoſe to frighten me, and

divert

divert the Queen. My remedy was to cut them in pieces with my knife, as they flew in the air, wherein my dexterity was much admired.

I remember, one morning, when Glumdalclitch had set me in my box upon a window, as she usually did in fair days, to give me air (for I durst not venture to let the box be hung on a nail out of the window, as we do with cages in England,) after I had lifted up one of my sashes, and sat down at my table to eat a piece of sweet cake for my breakfast, above twenty wasps, allured by the smell, came flying into the room, humming louder than the drones of as many bag pipes. Some of them seized my cake, and carried it piece-meal away; others flew about my head and face, confounding me with the noise, and putting me in the utmost terror of their stings. However, I had the courage to rise and draw my hanger, and attack them in the air. I dispatched four of them, but the rest got away, and I presently shut my window. These insects were as large as partridges; I took out their stings, found them an inch and an half long, and as sharp as needles. I carefully preserved them all, and, having since shewn them with some other curiosities in several parts of Europe, upon my return to England, I gave three of them to Gresham College, and kept the fourth for myself.

CHAP. IV.

The country described. A proposal for correcting modern maps. The King's palace, and some account of the metropolis. The author's way of travelling. The chief temple described.

I NOW intend to give the reader a short description of this country, as far as I travelled in it, which

which was not above two thouſand miles round Lorbrulgrud, the metropolis. For the Queen, whom I always attended, never went farther when ſhe accompanied the King in his progreſſes, and there ſtaid till his Majeſty returned from viewing his frontiers. The whole extent of this prince's dominions reacheth about ſix thouſand miles in length, and from three to five in breadth. From whence I cannot but conclude, that our geographers of Europe are in a great error, by ſuppoſing nothing but ſea between Japan and California; for it was ever my opinion, that there muſt be a balance of earth to counterpoiſe the great continent of Tartary; and therefore they ought to correct their maps and charts, by joining this vaſt tract of land to the north-weſt parts of America, wherein I ſhall be ready to lend them my aſſiſtance.

The kingdom is a peninſula, terminated to the north-eaſt by a ridge of mountains, thirty miles high, which are altogether impaſſable, by reaſon of the volcanoes upon the tops: neither do the moſt learned know what ſort of mortals inhabit beyond thoſe mountains, or whether they be inhabited at all. On the three other ſides it is bounded by the ocean. There is not one ſea-port in the whole kingdom, and thoſe parts of the coaſts into which the rivers iſſue, are ſo full of pointed rocks, and the ſea generally ſo rough, that there is no venturing with the ſmalleſt of their boats; ſo that theſe people are wholly excluded from any commerce with the reſt of the world. But the large rivers are full of veſſels, and abound with excellent fiſh, for they ſeldom get any from the ſea, becauſe the ſea-fiſh are of the ſame ſize with thoſe in Europe, and conſequently not worth catching; whereby it is manifeſt, that nature, in the production of plants and animals of ſo extraordinary a bulk, is wholly confined to this continent, of which I leave the reaſons to be determined by philoſophers. However, now and then they

they take a whale, that happens to be dashed against the rocks, which the common people feed on heartily. These whales I have known so large, that a man could hardly carry one upon his shoulders; and sometimes for curiosity they are brought in hampers to Lorbrulgrud: I saw one of them in a dish at the King's table, which passed for a rarity, but I did not observe he was fond of it; for I think indeed the bigness disgusted him, although I have seen one somewhat larger in Greenland.

The country is well inhabited, for it contains fifty-one cities, near an hundred walled towns, and a great number of villages. To satisfy my curious reader, it may be sufficient to describe Lorbrulgrud. This city stands upon almost two equal parts on each side the river that passes through. It contains above eighty thousand houses, and about six hundred thousand inhabitants. It is in length three glomglungs, (which make about fifty-four English miles,) and two and a half in breadth, as I measured it myself in the royal map made by the King's order, which was laid on the ground on purpose for me, and extended an hundred feet; I paced the diameter and circumference several times bare foot, and, computing by the scale, measured it pretty exactly.

The King's palace is no regular edifice, but an heap of building about seven miles round: the chief rooms are generally two hundred and forty feet high, and broad and long in proportion. A coach was allowed to Glumdalclitch and me, wherein her governess frequently took her out to see the town, or go among the shops; and I was always of the party, carried in my box; although the girl, at my own desire, would often take me out, and hold me in her hand, that I might more conveniently view the houses and the people, as we passed along the streets. I reckoned our coach to be about the square of Westminster-hall, but not altogether so high: however,

however, I cannot be very exact. One day the governeſs ordered our coachman to ſtop at ſeveral ſhops, where the beggars, watching their opportunity, crowded to the ſides of the coach, and gave me the moſt horrible ſpectacles that ever an European eye beheld. There was a woman with a cancer in her breaſt, ſwelled to a monſtrous ſize, full of holes, in two or three of which I could have eaſily crept, and covered my whole body. There was a fellow with a wen in his neck larger than five wool-packs, and another with a couple of wooden legs, each about twenty feet high. But the moſt hateful ſight of all was the lice crawling on their cloaths. I could ſee diſtinctly the limbs of theſe vermin with my naked eye, much better than thoſe of an European louſe through a microſcope, and their ſnouts with which they routed like ſwine. They were the firſt I had ever beheld, and I ſhould have been curious enough to diſſect one of them, if I had had proper inſtruments, (which I unluckily left behind me in the ſhip,) although indeed the ſight was ſo nauſeous, that it perfectly turned my ſtomach.

Beſide the large box in which I was uſually carried, the Queen ordered a ſmaller one to be made for me of about twelve feet ſquare, and ten high, for the convenience of travelling, becauſe the other was ſomewhat too large for Glumdalclitch's lap, and cumberſome in the coach: It was made by the ſame artiſt, whom I directed in the whole contrivance. This travelling cloſet was an exact ſquare, with a window in the middle of three of the ſquares, and each window was latticed with iron-wire on the outſide, to prevent accidents in long journeys. On the fourth ſide, which had no window, two ſtrong ſtaples were fixed, through which the perſon that carried me, when I had a mind to be on horſeback, put a leathern belt, and buckled it about his waiſt. This was always the office of ſome grave truſty ſervant

vant in whom I could confide, whether I attended the King and Queen in their progreſſes, or were diſpoſed to ſee the gardens, or pay a viſit to ſome great lady or miniſter of ſtate in the court, when Glumdalclitch happened to be out of order: for I ſoon began to be known and eſteemed among the greateſt officers, I ſuppoſe more upon account of their Majeſties favour than any merit of my own. In journies, when I was weary of the coach, a ſervant on horſeback would buckle on my box, and place it upon a cuſhion before him; and there I had a full proſpect of the country on three ſides from my three windows. I had in this cloſet a field-bed, and a hammock hung from the cieling, two chairs and a table, neatly ſcrewed to the floor, to prevent being toſſed about by the agitation of the horſe or the coach. And having been long uſed to ſea-voyages, thoſe motions, although ſometimes very violent, did not much diſcompoſe me.

Whenever I had a mind to ſee the town, it was always in my travelling-cloſet, which Glumdalclitch held in her lap in a kind of open ſedan, after the faſhion of the country, borne by four men, and attended by two others in the Queen's livery. The people, who had often heard of me, were very curious to crowd about the ſedan, and the girl was complaiſant enough to make the bearers ſtop, and to take me in her hand, that I might be more conveniently ſeen.

I was very deſirous to ſee the chief temple, and particularly the tower belonging to it, which is reckoned the higheſt in the kingdom. Accordingly one day my nurſe carried me thither, but I may truly ſay I came back diſappointed; for the height is not above three thouſand feet, reckoning from the ground to the higheſt pinnacle top; which, allowing for the difference between the ſize of thoſe people and us in Europe, is no great matter for admiration, not at all equal in proportion (if I rightly

remember,) to Salisbury steeple. But, not to detract from a nation to which, during my life, I shall acknowledge myself extremely obliged, it must be allowed, that whatever this famous tower wants in height is amply made up in beauty and strength. For the walls are near an hundred feet thick, built of hewn stone, whereof each is about forty feet square, and adorned on all sides with statues of gods and emperors, cut in marble larger than the life, placed in their several niches. I measured a little finger which had fallen down from one of these statues, and lay unperceived among some rubbish, and found it exactly four feet and an inch in length. Glumdalclitch wrapped it up in her handkerchief; and carried it home in her pocket to keep among other trinkets, of which the girl was very fond, as children at her age usually are.

The King's kitchen is indeed a noble building, vaulted at top, and about six hundred feet high. The great oven is not so wide by ten paces as the cupola at St. Paul's; for I measured the latter on purpose after my return. But, if I should describe the kitchen-grate, the prodigious pots and kettles, the joints of meat turning on the spits, with many other particulars, perhaps I should be hardly believed; at least a severe critic would be apt to think I enlarged a little, as travellers are often suspected to do. To avoid which censure, I fear I have run too much into the other extreme; and that if this treatise should happen to be translated into tha language of Brobdingnag, (which is the general name of that kingdom,) and transmitted thither, the King and his people would have reason to complain, that I had done them an injury by a false and diminutive representation.

His Majesty seldom keeps above six hundred horses in his stables: they are generally from fifty-four to sixty feet high. But, when he goes abroad on solemn days, he is attended for state by a militia guard

guard of five hundred horſe, which indeed I thought was the moſt ſplendid ſight that could be ever beheld, till I ſaw part of his army in battalia, whereof I ſhall find another occaſion to ſpeak.

CHAP. V.

Several adventures that happened to the author. The execution of a criminal. The author ſhews his ſkill in navigation.

I SHOULD have lived happy enough in that country, if my littleneſs had not expoſed me to ſeveral ridiculous and troubleſome accidents: ſome of which I ſhall venture to relate. Glumdalclitch often carried me into the gardens of the court in my ſmaller box, and would ſometimes take me out of it, or hold me in her hand, or ſet me down to walk. I remember, before the dwarf left the Queen, he followed us one day into thoſe gardens, and my nurſe having ſet me down, he and I being cloſe together, near ſome dwarf apple-trees, I muſt need ſhew my wit by a ſilly alluſion between him and the trees, which happens to hold in their language, as it doth in ours. Whereupon, the malicious rogue watching his opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, ſhook it directly over my head, by which a dozen apples, each of them near as large as a Briſtol barrel, came tumbling about my ears; one of them hit me on the back as I chanced to ſtoop, and knocked me down flat on my face; but I received no other hurt, and the dwarf was pardoned at my deſire, becauſe I had given the provocation.

Another day Glumdalclitch left me on a ſmooth graſs-plot to divert myſelf, while ſhe walked at ſome

diſtance with her governeſs. In the mean time there ſuddenly fell ſuch a violent ſhower of hail, that I was immediately by the force of it ſtruck to the ground: and when I was down, the hail-ſtones gave me ſuch cruel bangs all over the body, as if I had been pelted with tennis-balls; however, I made ſhift to creep on all four, and ſhelter myſelf by lying flat on my face on the lee-ſide of a border of lemon-thyme, but ſo bruiſed from head to foot, that I could not go abroad in ten days. Neither is this at all to be wondered at, becauſe nature in that country obſerving the ſame proportion through all her operations, a hail-ſtone is near eighteen hundred times as large as one in Europe, which I can aſſert upon experience, having been ſo curious as to weigh and meaſure them.

But a more dangerous accident happened to me in the ſame garden, when my little nurſe believing ſhe had put me in a ſecure place, which I often intreated her to do, that I might enjoy my own thoughts, and having left my box at home to avoid the trouble of carrying it, went to another part of the garden with her governeſs, and ſome ladies of her aquaintance. While ſhe was abſent, and out of hearing, a ſmall white ſpaniel belonging to one of the chief gardeners, having got by accident into the garden, happened to range near the place where I lay: the dog, following the ſcent, came directly up, and, taking me in his mouth, ran ſtrait to his maſter, wagging his tail, and ſet me gently on the ground. By good fortune he had been ſo well taught, that I was carried between his teeth without the leaſt hurt, or even tearing my cloaths. But the poor gardener, who knew me well, and had a great kindneſs for me, was in a terrible fright: he gently took me up in both his hands, and aſked me how I did; but I was ſo amazed and out of breath, that I could not ſpeak a word. In a few minutes I came to myſelf, and he carried me ſafe to my little nurſe, who

who by this time had returned to the place where she left me, and was in cruel agonies when I did not appear, nor answer when she called: She severely reprimanded the gardener on account of his dog. But the thing was hushed up, and never known at court; for the girl was afraid of the Queen's anger, and truly, as to myself, I thought it would not be for my reputation that such a story should go about.

This accident absolutely determined Glumdalclitch never to trust me abroad for the future out of her sight. I had been long afraid of this resolution, and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky adventures, that happened in those times when I was left by myself. Once a kite, hovering over the garden, made a stoop at me, and, if I had not resolutely drawn my hanger, and run under a thick espalier, he would have certainly carried me away in his talons. Another time, walking to the top of a fresh mole-hill, I fell to my neck in the hole, thro' which that animal had cast up the earth, and coined some lye, not worth remembering, to excuse myself for spoiling my cloaths. I likewise broke my right shin against the shell of a snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking alone, and thinking on poor England.

I cannot tell, whether I were more pleased or mortified to observe, in those solitary walks, that the smaller birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me, but would hop about within a yard's distance, looking for worms and other food, with as much indifference and security, as if no creature at all were near them. I remember, a thrush had the confidence to snatch out of my hand, with his bill, a piece of cake that Glumdalclitch had just given me for my breakfast. When I attempted to catch any of these birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavouring to pick my fingers, which I durst not venture within their reach; and then they would

hop back unconcerned to hunt for worms or ſnails, as they did before. But one day I took a thick cudgel, and threw it with all my ſtrength ſo luckily at a linnet, that I knocked him down, and, ſeizing him by the neck with both my hands, ran with him in triumph to my nurſe. However the bird, who had only been ſtunned, recovering himſelf, gave me ſo many boxes with his wings on both ſides of my head and body, though I held him at arms length, and was out of the reach of his claws, that I was twenty times thinking to let him go. But I was ſoon relieved by one of our ſervants, who wrung off the bird's neck, and I had him next day for dinner by the Queen's command. This linnet, as near as I can remember, ſeemed to be ſomewhat larger than an England ſwan.

The maids of honour often invited Glumdalclitch to their apartments and deſired ſhe would bring me along with her, on purpoſe to have the pleaſure of ſeeing and touching me. They would often ſtrip me naked from top to toe, and lay me at full length in their boſoms, wherewith I was much diſguſted; becauſe, to ſay the truth, a very offenſive ſmell came from their ſkins; which I do not mention, or intend to the diſadvantage of thoſe excellent ladies, for whom I have all manner of reſpect; but I conceive that my ſenſe was more acute, in proportion to my littleneſs, and that thoſe illuſtrious perſons were no more diſagreeable to their lovers, or to each other, than people of the ſame quality are with us in England. And, after all, I found their natural ſmell was much more ſupportable than when they uſed perfumes, under which I immediately ſwooned away. I cannot forget, that an intimate friend of mine in Lilliput took the freedom in a warm day, when I had uſed a good deal of exerciſe, to complain of a ſtrong ſmell about me, although I am as little faulty that way, as moſt of my ſex: but I ſuppoſe his faculty of ſmelling was as nice with regard

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to me, as mine was to that of this people. Upon this point, I cannot forbear doing juſtice to the Queen my miſtreſs, and Glumdalclitch my nurſe, whoſe perſons were as ſweet as thoſe of any lady in England.

That which gave me moſt uneaſineſs among theſe maids of honour, (when my nurſe carried me to them,) was to ſee them uſe me without any manner of ceremony, like a creature who had no ſort of conſequence: for they would ſtrip themſelves to the ſkin, and put on their ſmocks in my preſence, while I was placed on their toilet, directly before their naked bodies, which I am ſure to me was very far from being a tempting ſight, or from giving me any other emotions than thoſe of horror and diſguſt. Their ſkins appeared ſo coarſe and uneven, ſo variouſly coloured, when I ſaw them near, with a mole here and there as broad as a trencher, and hairs hanging from it thicker than pack threads, to ſay nothing farther concerning the reſt of their perſons. Neither did they at all ſcruple, while I was by, to diſcharge what they had drank, to the quantity of at leaſt two hogſheads in a veſſel that held above three tuns. The handſomeſt among thoſe maids of honour, a pleaſant frolickſome girl of ſixteen, would ſometimes ſet me aſtride upon one of her nipple, with many other tricks, wherein the reader will excuſe me for not being over particular. But I was ſo much diſpleaſed, that I intreated Glumdalclitch to contrive ſome excuſe for not ſeeing that young lady any more.

One day a young gentleman, who was nephew to my nurſe's governeſs, came and preſſed them both to ſee an execution. It was of a man who had murdered one of that gentleman's intimate acquaintance. Glumdalclitch was prevailed on to be of the company, very much againſt her inclination, for ſhe was naturally tender hearted: and as for myſelf, although I abhorred ſuch kind of ſpectacles,

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yet my curiosity tempted me to see something, that I thought must be extraordinary. The malefactor was fixed in a chair upon a scaffold erected for that purpose, and his head cut off at one blow with a sword of about forty feet long. The veins and arteries spouted up such a prodigious quantity of blood, and so high in the air, that the great *Jet d'eau* at Versailles was not equal for the time it lasted; and the head, when it fell on the scaffold floor, gave such a bounce as made me start, although I were at least half an English mile distant.

The Queen, who often used to hear me talk of my sea-voyages, and took all occasions to divert me when I was melancholy, asked me whether I understood how to handle a sail or an oar, and whether a little exercise of rowing might not be convenient for my health: I answered, that I understood both very well: for although my proper employment had been to be surgeon or doctor to the ship, yet often upon a pinch I was forced to work like a common mariner. But I could not see how this could be done in their country, where the smallest wherry was equal to a first-rate man of war among us, and such a boat as I could manage would never live in any of their rivers. Her Majesty said, if I would contrive a boat, her own joiner should make it, and she would provide a place for me to sail in. The fellow was an ingenious workman, and by my instructions in ten days finished a pleasure boat, with all its tackling, able conveniently to hold eight Europeans. When it was finished, the Queen was so delighted, that she ran with it in her lap to the King, who ordered it to be put in a cistern full of water with me in it by way of trial; where I could not manage my two sculls, or little oars, for want of room. But the Queen had before contrived another project. She ordered the joiner to make a wooden trough of three hundred feet long, fifty broad, and eight deep; which being well pitched,

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to prevent leaking, was placed on the floor along the wall in an outer room of the palace. It had a cock near the bottom to let out the water, when it began to grow ſtale; and two ſervants could eaſily fill it in half an hour. Here I often uſed to row for my own diverſion, as well as that of the Queen and her ladies, who thought themſelves well entertained with my ſkill and agility. Sometimes I would put up my ſail, and then my buſineſs was only to ſteer, while the ladies gave me a gale with their fans; and when they were weary, ſome of the pages would blow my ſail forward with their breath, while I ſhewed my art by ſteering ſtarboard or larboard, as I pleaſed. When I had done, Glumdalclitch always carried back my boat into her cloſet, and hung it on a nail to dry.

In this exerciſe I once met an accident, which had like to have coſt me my life: for one of the pages having put my boat into the trough, the governeſs, who attended Glumdalclitch very officiouſly lifted me up to place me in the boat, but I happened to ſlip through her fingers, and ſhould infallibly have fallen down forty feet upon the floor, if, by the luckieſt chance in the world, I had not been ſtopped by a corking-pin that ſtuck in the good gentlewoman's ſtomacher; the head of the pin paſſed between my ſhirt and the waiſtband of my breeches, and thus I was held by the middle in the air, till Glumdalclitch ran to my relief.

Another time, one of the ſervants, whoſe office it was to fill my trough every third day with freſh water, was ſo careleſs to let a huge frog (not perceiving it) ſlip out of his pail. The frog lay concealed till I was put into my boat, but then, ſeeing a reſting-place, climbed up, and made it lean ſo much on one ſide, that I was forced to balance it with all my weight on the other to prevent overturning. When the frog was got in, it hopped at once half the length of the boat, and then over my head, backwards and forwards, daubing my face and clothes

clothes with its odious slime. The largeness of its features made it appear the most deformed animal that can be conceived. However, I desired Glumdalclitch to let me deal with it alone. I banged it a good while with one of my sculls, and at last forced it to leap out of the boat.

But the greatest danger I ever underwent in that kingdom, was from a monkey, who belonged to one of the clerks of the kitchen. Glumdalclitch had locked me up in her closet, while she went somewhere upon business, or a visit. The weather being very warm, the closet-window was left open, as well as the windows and the door of my bigger box, in which I usually lived, because of its largeness and conveniency. As I sat quietly meditating at my table, I heard something bounce in at the closet-window, and skip about from one side to the other: whereat although I were much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring from my seat; and then I saw this frolicksome animal frisking and leaping up and down, till at last he came to my box, which he seemed to view with great pleasure and curiosity, peeping in at the door and every window. I retreated to the farther corner of my room, or box, but the monkey looking in at every side put me into such a fright, that I wanted presence of mind to conceal myself under the bed, as I might easily have done. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espied me, and reaching one of his paws in at the door, as a cat does when she plays with a mouse, although I often shifted place to avoid him, he at length seized the lappet of my coat, (which, being made of that country silk, was very thick and strong,) and dragged me out. He took me up in his right fore-foot, and held me as a nurse does a child she is going to suckle, just as I have seen the same sort of creature do with a kitten in Europe; and, when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it

t more prudent to ſubmit. I have good reaſon to believe, that he took me for a young one of his own pecies, by his often ſtroaking my face very gently with his other paw. In theſe diverſions he was interrupted by a noiſe at the cloſet-door, as if ſomebody were opening it; whereupon he ſuddenly leaped up to the window, at which he had come in, and thence upon the leads and gutters, walking upon three legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up to a roof that was next to ours I heard Glumdalclitch give a ſhreek at the moment he was carrying me out. The poor girl was almoſt diſtracted: that quarter of the palace was all in an uproar; the ſervants ran for ladders; the monkey was ſeen by hundreds in the court, ſitting upon the ridge of a building, holding me like a baby in one of his forepaws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my mouth ſome victuals he had ſqueezed out of the bag on one ſide of his chaps, and patting me when I would not eat; whereat many of the rabble below could not forbear laughing; neither do I think they juſtly ought to be blamed, for without queſtion the ſight was ridiculous enough to every body but myſelf. Some of the people threw up ſtones, hoping to drive the monkey down; but this was ſtrictly forbidden, or elſe very probably my brains had been daſhed out.

The ladders were now applied, and mounted by ſeveral men, which the monkey obſerving, and finding himſelf almoſt incompaſſed; not being able to make ſpeed enough with his three legs, let me drop on a ridge-tyle, and made his eſcape. Here I ſat for ſome time, five hundred yards from the ground, expecting every moment to be blown down by the wind, or to fall by my own giddineſs, and come tumbling over and over from the ridge to the eves: but an honeſt lad, one of my nurſe's footmen, climbed up, and putting me into his breeches pocket brought me down ſafe.

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I was almoſt choaked with the filthy ſtuff the monkey had crammed down my throat; but my dear little nurſe picked it out of my mouth with a ſmall needle, and then I fell a-vomiting, which gave me great relief. Yet I was ſo weak, and bruiſed in the ſides with the ſqueezes given me by this odious animal, that I was forced to keep my bed a fortnight. The King, Queen, and all the court, ſent every day to enquire after my health, and her Majeſty made me ſeveral viſits during my ſickneſs. The monkey was killed, and an order made that no ſuch animal ſhould be kept about the palace.

When I attended the King after my recovery to return him thanks for his favours, he was pleaſed to rally me a good deal upon this adventure. He aſked me, what my thoughts and ſpeculations were while I lay in the monkey's paw; how I liked the victuals he gave me; his manner of feeding; and whether the freſh air on the roof had ſharpened my ſtomach. He deſired to know, what I would have done upon ſuch an occaſion in my own country. I told his Majeſty, that in Europe we had no monkeys, except ſuch as were brought for curioſities from other places, and ſo ſmall, that I could deal with a dozen of them together, if they preſumed to attack me. And as for that monſtrous animal with whom I was ſo lately engaged, (it was indeed as large as an elephant,) if my fears had ſuffered me to think ſo far as to make uſe of my hanger, (looking fiercely, and clapping my hand upon the hilt, as I ſpoke,) when he poked his paw into my chamber, perhaps I ſhould have given him ſuch a wound, as would have made him glad to withdraw it with more haſte than he put it in. This I delivered in a firm tone, like a perſon who was jealous leſt his courage ſhould be called in queſtion. However, my ſpeech produced nothing elſe beſides a loud laughter, which all the reſpect, due to his Majeſty from thoſe about him, could not make them

them contain. This made me reflect, how vain an attempt it is for a man to endeavour to do himself honour among those, who are out of all degree of equality or comparison with him. And yet I have seen the moral of my own behaviour very frequent in England since my return, where a little contemptible varlet, without the least title to birth, person, wit, or common sense, shall presume to look with importance, and put himself upon a foot with the greatest persons of the kingdom.

I was every day furnishing the court with some ridiculous story; and Glumdalclitch, although she loved me to excess, yet was arch enough to inform the Queen, whenever I committed any folly that she thought would be diverting to her Majesty. The girl, who had been out of order, was carried by her governess to take the air about an hour's distance, or thirty miles from town. They alighted out of the coach near a small foot-path in a field, and, Glumdalclitch setting down my travelling-box, I went out of it to walk. There was a cow-dung in the path, and I must need try my activity by attempting to leap over it. I took a run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found myself just in the middle up to my knees. I waded through with some difficulty, and one of the footmen wiped me as clean as he could with his handkerchief; for I was filthily bemired, and my nurse confined me to my box, till we returned home; where the Queen was soon informed of what had passed, and the footmen spread it about the court; so that all the mirth for some days was at my expense.

CHAP. VI*.

Several contrivances of the author to please the King and Queen. He shews his skill in music. The King inquires into the state of England, which the author relates to him. The King's observations thereon.

I USED to attend the King's levee once or twice a week, and had often seen him under the barber's hand, which indeed was at first very terrible to behold: for the razor was almost twice as long as an ordinary scythe. His Majesty, according to the custom of the country, was only shaved twice a-week. I once prevailed on the barber to give me some of the suds or lather, out of which I picked forty or fifty of the strongest stumps of hair. I then took a piece of fine wood, and cut it like the back of a comb, making several holes in it at equal distance with as small a needle as I could get from

* In this chapter the author gives an account of the political state of Europe. His observations are delivered with his usual spirit of humour and severity. He appears most particularly affected with the proceedings of the courts of judicature, and complains of being almost ruined by a chancery-suit, which was *determined in his favour with costs*. It must be confessed, that instances of this kind are too frequent in our courts of justice; and they leave us no room to boast of the execution of our present laws, however excellent the laws, in their own original foundation, may have been. *Judgement, when turned into wormwood, is bitter*; but delays, as Lord Bacon observes, turn it into vinegar. It becomes sharp and corroding: and certainly it is more eligible to die immediately by the wound of an enemy, than to decay lingering by poison, administered from a seeming friend. *Orrery.*

The noble commentator is mistaken as to his first observation; for Gulliver has here given a political account of no country but England. It is however a mistake to which any commentator would have been liable, who had read little more than the titles or contents of the chapters, into which this work is divided; for the word *Europe* has, in some English, and all the Irish editions, been printed in the title of this chapter, instead of *England*.

Glumdalclitch.

Glumdalclitch. I fixed in the ſtumps ſo artificially, ſcraping and ſloping them with my knife towards the points, that I made a very tolerable comb; which was a ſeaſonable ſupply, my own being ſo much broken in the teeth, that it was almoſt uſeleſs: neither did I know any artiſt in that country ſo nice and exact, as would undertake to make me another.

And this puts me in mind of an amuſement, wherein I ſpent many of my leiſure-hours. I deſired the Queen's woman to ſave for me the combings of her Majeſty's hair, whereof in time I got a good quantity, and conſulting with my friend the cabinet-maker, who had received general orders to do little jobs for me, I directed him to make two chair-frames, no larger than thoſe I had in my box, and then to bore little holes with a fine awl round thoſe parts where I deſigned the backs and ſeats; through theſe holes I wove the ſtrongeſt hairs I could pick out, juſt after the manner of cane-chairs in England. When they were finiſhed, I made a preſent of them to her Majeſty, who kept them in her cabinet, and uſed to ſhew them for curioſities, as indeed they were the wonder of every one that beheld them. The Queen would have had me ſit upon one of thoſe chairs, but I abſolutely refuſed to obey her, proteſting I would rather die a thouſand deaths, than place a diſhonourable part of my body on thoſe precious hairs that once adorned her Majeſty's head. Of theſe hairs (as I had always a mechanical genius,) I likewiſe made a neat little purſe about five feet long, with her Majeſty's name decyphered in gold letters which I gave to Glumdalclitch by the Queen's conſent. To ſay the truth, it was more for ſhew than uſe, being not of ſtrength to bear the weight of the larger coins, and therefore ſhe kept nothing in it but ſome little toys that girls are fond of.

The King, who delighted in muſic, had frequent

concerts at court, to which I was ſometimes carried, and ſet in my box on a table to hear them: but the noiſe was ſo great, that I could hardly diſtinguiſh the tunes. I am confident, that all the drums and trumpets of a royal army, beating and ſounding together juſt at your ears, could not equal it. My practice was to have my box removed from the place where the performers ſat, as far as I could, then to ſhut the doors and windows of it, and draw the window-curtains; after which I found their muſic not diſagreeable.

I had learned in my youth to play a little upon the ſpinet. Glumdalclitch kept one in her chamber, and a maſter attended twice a week to teach her: I called it a ſpinet, becauſe it ſomewhat reſembled that inſtrument, and was played upon in the ſame manner. A fancy came into my head, that I would entertain the King and Queen with an Engliſh tune upon this inſtrument. But this appeared extremely difficult: for the ſpinet was near ſixty feet long, each key being almoſt a foot wide, ſo that with my arms extended I could not reach to above five keys, and to preſs them down required a good ſmart ſtroke with my fiſt, which would be too great a labour, and to no purpoſe. The method I contrived was this: I prepared two round ſticks about the bigneſs of common cudgels; they were thicker at one end than the other, and I covered the thicker ends with a piece of mouſe's ſkin, that, by rapping on them, I might neither damage the tops of the keys, nor interrupt the ſound. Before the ſpinet a bench was placed about four feet below the keys, and I was put upon the bench. I ran ſideling upon it that way and this, as faſt as I could, banging the proper keys with my two ſticks, and made a ſhift to play a jig to the great ſatisfaction of both their Majeſties: but it was the moſt violent exerciſe I ever underwent, and yet I could not ſtrike above ſixteen keys, nor conſequently play the baſs and

and treble together, as other artists do; which was a great disadvantage to my performance.

The King, who, as I before observed, was a prince of excellent understanding, would frequently order, that I should be brought in my box, and set upon the table in his closet; he would then command me to bring one of my chairs out of the box, and sit down within three yards distance upon the top of the cabinet, which brought me almost to a level with his face. In this manner I had several conversations with him. I one day took the freedom to tell his Majesty, that the contempt he discovered towards Europe, and the rest of the world, did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of mind that he was master of: that reason did not extend itself with the bulk of the body; on the contrary, we observed in our country, that the tallest persons were usually least provided with it: that, among other animals, bees and ants had the reputation of more industry, art, and sagacity, than many of the larger kinds; and that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his Majesty some signal service. The King heard me with attention, and began to conceive a much better opinion of me than he had ever before. He desired I would give him as exact an account of the government of England, as I possibly could; because, as fond as princes commonly are of their own customs, (for so he conjectured of other monarchs by my former discourses,) he should be glad to hear of any thing that might deserve imitation.

Imagine with thyself, courteous reader, how often I then wished for the tongue of Demosthenes or Cicero, that might have enabled me to celebrate the praise of my own dear native country, in a style equal to its merits and felicity.

I began my discourse by informing his Majesty, that our dominions consisted of two islands, which composed three mighty kingdoms under one sove-

reign, beſides our plantations in America. I dwelt long upon the fertility of our ſoil, and the temperature of our climate. I then ſpoke at large upon the conſtitution of an Engliſh parliament, partly made up of an illuſtrious body called the Houſe of Peers, perſons of the nobleſt blood, and of the moſt ancient and ample patrimonies. I deſcribed that extraordinary care always taken of their education in arts and arms, to qualify them for being counſellors both to the king and kingdom; to have a ſhare in the legiſlature; to be members of the higheſt court of judicature, from whence there could be no appeal; and to be champions always ready for the defence of their prince and country, by their valour, conduct, and fidelity. That theſe were the ornament and bulwark of the kingdom, worthy followers of their moſt renowned anceſtors, whoſe honour had been the reward of their virtue, from which their poſterity were never once known to degenerate. To theſe were joined ſeveral holy perſons as part of that aſſembly, under the title of biſhops, whoſe peculiar buſineſs it is to take care of religion, and of thoſe who inſtruct the people therein. Theſe were ſearched and ſought out through the whole nation, by the prince and his wiſeſt counſellors among ſuch of the prieſthood, as were moſt deſervedly diſtinguiſhed by the ſanctity of their lives, and the depth of their erudition, who were indeed the ſpiritual fathers of the clergy and the people.

That the other part of the parliament conſiſted of an aſſembly called the houſe of commons, who were all principal gentlemen, *freely* picked and culled out by the people themſelves, for their great abilities and love of their country, to repreſent the wiſdom of the whole nation. And that theſe two bodies made up the moſt auguſt aſſembly in Europe, to whom, in conjunction with the prince, the whole legiſlature is committed.

I

I then deſcended to the courts of juſtice, over which the judges, thoſe venerable ſages and interpreters of the law, preſided for determining the diſputed rights and properties of men, as well as for the puniſhment of vice and protection of innocence. I mentioned the prudent management of our treaſury, the valour and atchievements of our forces by ſea and land. I computed the number of our people, by reckoning how many millions there might be of each religious ſect, or political party among us. I did not omit even our ſports and paſtimes, or any other particular, which I thought might redound to the honour of my country. And I finiſhed all with a brief hiſtorical account of affairs and events in England for about an hundred years paſt.

This converſation was not ended under five audiences, each of ſeveral hours; and the king heard the whole with great attention, frequently taking notes of what I ſpoke, as well as memorandums of what queſtions he intended to aſk me.

When I had put an end to theſe long diſcourſes, his Majeſty in a ſixth audience conſulting his notes, propoſed many doubts, queries, and objections upon every article. He aſked what methods were uſed to cultivate the minds and bodies of our young nobility, and in what kind of buſineſs they commonly ſpent the firſt and teachable part of their lives. What courſe was taken to ſupply that aſſembly when any noble family became extinct. What qualifications were neceſſary in thoſe who are to be created new lords: whether the humour of the prince, a ſum of money to a court-lady or a prime miniſter, or a deſign of ſtrengthening a party oppoſite to the public intereſt, ever happened to be motives in thoſe advancements. What ſhare of knowledge theſe lords had in the laws of their country, and how they came by it, ſo as to enable them to decide the properties of their fellow-ſubjects in the

the laſt reſort. Whether they were always ſo free from avarice, partialities, or want, that a bribe or ſome other ſiniſter view could have no place among them. Whether thoſe holy lords I ſpoke of, were always promoted to that rank upon account of their knowledge in religious matters, and the ſanctity of their lives; had never been compliers with the times while they were common prieſts, or ſtavish proſtitute chaplains, to ſome nobleman, whoſe opinions they continued ſervilely to follow after they were admitted into that aſſembly.

He then deſired to know, what arts were practiſed in electing thoſe whom I called commoners: whether a ſtranger with a ſtrong purſe might not influence the vulgar voters to chuſe him before their own landlord, or the moſt conſiderable gentleman in the neighbourhood. How it came to paſs, that people were ſo violently bent upon getting into this aſſembly, which I allowed to be a great trouble and expence, often to the ruin of their families, without any ſalary or penſion; becauſe this appeared ſuch an exalted ſtrain of virtue and public ſpirit, that his Majeſty ſeemed to doubt it might poſſibly not be always ſincere: and he deſired to know whether ſuch zealous gentlemen could have any views of reſunding themſelves for the charges and trouble they were at, by ſacrificing the public good to the deſigns of a weak and vicious prince, in conjunction with a corrupted miniſtry. He multiplied his queſtions, and ſifted me thoroughly upon every part of this head, propoſing numberleſs enquiries and objections, which I think it not prudent or convenient to repeat.

Upon what I ſaid in relation to our courts of juſtice, his Majeſty deſired to be ſatisfied in ſeveral points: and this I was the better able to do, having been formerly almoſt ruined by a long ſuit in chancery, which was decreed for me with coſts. He aſked what time was uſually ſpent in determining between

between right and wrong, and what degree of expence. Whether advocates and orators had liberty to plead in cauſes manifeſtly known to be unjuſt, vexatious, or oppreſſive. Whether party in religion or politics were obſerved to be of any weight in the ſcale of juſtice. Whether thoſe pleading orators were perſons educated in the general knowledge of equity, or only in provincial, national, and other local cuſtoms. Whether they or their judges had any part in penning thoſe laws, which they aſſumed the liberty of interpreting and gloſſing upon at their pleaſure Whether they had ever, at different times, pleaded for and againſt the ſame cauſe, and cited precedents to prove contrary opinions. Whether they were a rich or a poor corporation. Whether they received any pecuniary reward for pleading or delivering their opinions. And particularly, whether they were ever admitted as members in the lower ſenate.

He fell next upon the management of our treaſury; and ſaid, he thought my memory had failed me, becauſe I computed our taxes at about five or ſix millions a-year, and when I came to mention the iſſues, he found they amounted to ſometimes more than double: for the notes he had taken were very particular in this point, becauſe he hoped, as he told me, that the knowledge of our conduct might be uſeful to him, and he could not be deceived in his calculations. But, if what I told him were true, he was ſtill at a loſs how a kingdom could run out of its eſtate like a private perſon. He aſked me, who were our creditors: and where we found money to pay them. He wondered to hear me talk of ſuch chargeable and expenſive wars; that certainly we muſt be a quarrelſome people, or live among very bad neighbours, and that our generals muſt needs be richer than our kings. He aſked what buſineſs we had out of our own iſlands, unleſs upon the ſcore of trade or treaty,

ty, or to defend the coasts with our fleet. Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing army in the midst of peace, and among a free people. He said, if we were governed by our own consent, in the persons of our representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight; and would hear my opinion, whether a private man's house might not better be defended by himself, his children, and family, than by half a dozen rascals, picked up at a venture in the street for small wages, who might get an hundred times more for cutting their throats.

He laughed at my odd kind of arithmetic (as he was pleased to call it) in reckoning the numbers of our people by a computation drawn from the several sects among us in religion and politics. He said, he knew no reason why those, who entertain opinions prejudicial to the public, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them. And as it was tyranny in any government to require the first, so it was weakness not to inforce the second: for a man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not to vend them about for cordials.

He observed, that among the diversions of our nobility and gentry, I had mentioned gaming; he desired to know at what age this entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down; how much of their time it employed: whether it ever went so high as to affect their fortunes: whether mean vicious people, by their dexterity in that art, might not arrive at great riches, and sometimes keep our very nobles in dependence, as well as habituate them to vile companions, wholly take them from the improvement of their minds, and force them by the losses they received, to learn and practise that infamous dexterity upon others

He was perfectly astonished with the historical account

account I gave him of our affairs during the laſt century, proteſting it was only a heap of conſpiracies, rebellions, murders, maſſacres, revolutions, baniſhments, the very worſt effects that avarice, faction, hypocriſy, perfidiouſneſs, cruelty, rage, madneſs, hatred, envy, luſt, malice, and ambition could produce.

His Majeſty, in another audience, was at the pains to recapitulate the ſum of all I had ſpoken; compared the queſtions he made, with the anſwers I had given; then taking me into his hands, and ſtroaking me gently, delivered himſelf in theſe words, which I ſhall never forget, nor the manner he ſpoke them in: My little friend Grildrig, you have made a moſt admirable panegyric upon your country: you have clearly proved, that ignorance, idleneſs, and vice are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legiſlator; that laws are beſt explained, interpreted, and applied by thoſe whoſe intereſt and abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. I obſerve among you ſome lines of an inſtitution, which, in its original might have been tolerable, but theſe half eraſed, and the reſt wholly blurred and blotted by corruptions. It doth not appear from all you have ſaid, how any one perfection is required toward the procurement of any one ſtation among you; much leſs that men are ennobled on account of their virtue, that prieſts are advanced for their piety or learning, ſoldiers for their conduct or valour, judges for their integrity, ſenators for the love of their country, or counſellors for their wiſdom. As for yourſelf, continued the King, who have ſpent the greateſt part of your life in travelling, I am well diſpoſed to hope you may hitherto have eſcaped many vices of your country. But by what I have gathered from your own relation, and the anſwers I have with much pains wringed and extorted from you, I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the moſt

moſt pernicious race of little odious vermin, that nature ever ſuffered to crawl upon the ſurface of the earth.

CHAP. VII *.

The author's love of his country. He makes a propoſal of much advantage to the King, which is rejected. The King's great ignorance in politics. The learning of that country very imperfect and confined. The laws, and military affairs, and parties in the ſtate.

NOTHING but an extreme love of truth could have hindered me from concealing this part of my ſtory. It was in vain to diſcover my reſentments, which were always turned into ridicule; and I was forced to reſt with patience, while my noble and moſt beloved country was ſo injuriouſly treated. I am as heartily ſorry as any of my readers can poſſibly be, that ſuch an occaſion was given: but this prince happened to be ſo curious and inquiſitive upon every particular, that it could not conſiſt either with gratitude or good manners to refuſe giving him what ſatisfaction I was able. Yet thus much I may be allowed to ſay in my own vindication, that I artfully eluded many of his queſtions, and gave to every point a more favourable turn, by many degrees, than the ſtrictneſs of truth would allow. For I have

* This chapter contains ſuch ſarcaſms on the ſtructure of the human body, as too plainly ſhew, that the author was unwilling to loſe any opportunity of debaſing and ridiculing his own ſpecies. —— Here a reflection naturally occurs, which, without any ſuperſtition, leads tacitly to admire and confeſs the ways of Providence. For this great genius, this mighty wit, who ſeemed to ſcoff and ſcorn at all mankind, lived not only to be an example to puniſh his own pride, and to terrify ours, but underwent ſome of the greateſt miſeries to which human nature is liable. *Orrery.*

always

that laudable partiality to my country, which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis with ſo much juſtice recommends to an hiſtorian: I would hide the frailties and deformities of my political mother, and place her virtues and beauties in the moſt advantageous light. This was my ſincere endeavour in thoſe many diſcourſes I had with that monarch, although it unfortunately failed of ſucceſs.

But great allowances ſhould be given to a King, who lives wholly ſecluded from the reſt of the world, and muſt therefore be altogether unacquainted with the manners and cuſtoms that moſt prevail in other nations: the want of which knowledge will ever produce many prejudices, and a certain narrowneſs of thinking, from which we and the politer countries of Europe are wholly exempted. And it would be hard indeed, if ſo remote a prince's notions of virtue and vice were to be offered as a ſtandard for all mankind.

To confirm what I have now ſaid, and further to ſhew the miſerable effects of a confined education, I ſhall here inſert a paſſage which will hardly obtain belief. In hopes to ingratiate myſelf farther into his Majeſty's favour, I told him of an invention diſcovered between three and four hundred years ago to make a certain powder, into an heap of which the ſmalleſt ſpark of fire falling, would kindle the whole in a moment, although it were as big as a mountain, and make it all fly up in the air together, with a noiſe and agitation greater than thunder. That a proper quantity of this powder, rammed into an hollow tube of braſs or iron, according to its bigneſs, would drive a ball of iron or lead with ſuch violence and ſpeed, as nothing was able to ſuſtain its force. That the largeſt balls thus diſcharged would not only deſtroy whole ranks of an army at once, but batter the ſtrongeſt walls to the ground, ſink down ſhips, with a thouſand men on each, to the bottom of the ſea; and, when link-

ed together by a chain, would cut through masts and rigging, divide hundreds of bodies in the middle, and lay all waste before them. That we often put this powder into large hollow balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst and throw splinters on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near. That I knew the ingredients very well, which were cheap and common; I understood the manner of compounding them, and could direct his workmen how to make those tubes of a size proportionable to all other things in his Majesty's kingdom, and the largest need not be above an hundred feet long; twenty or thirty of which tubes, charged with the proper quantity of powder and balls, would batter down the walls of the strongest town in his dominions in a few hours, or destroy the whole metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute commands. This I humbly offered to his Majesty, as a small tribute of acknowledgment in return of so many marks that I had received of his royal favour and protection.

The king was struck with horror at the description I had given of those terrible engines, and the proposal I had made. He was amazed, how so impotent and groveling an insect as I (these were his expressions) could entertain such inhuman ideas, and in so familiar a manner, as to appear wholly unmoved at all the scenes of blood and desolation, which I had painted as the common effects of those destructive machines, whereof he said some evil genius, enemy to mankind, must have been the first contriver. As for himself, he protested, that although few things delighted him so much as new discoveries in art or in nature, yet he would rather lose half his kingdom, than be privy to such a secret, which he commanded me, as I valued my life, never to mention any more.

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A ſtrange effect of narrow principles and ſhort views! that a prince poſſeſſed of every quality which procures veneration, love, and eſteem; of ſtrong parts, great wiſdom, and profound learning, endowed with admirable talents for government, and almoſt adored by his ſubjects, ſhould from a nice unneceſſary ſcruple, whereof in Europe we can have no conception, let ſlip an opportunity put into his hands, that would have made him abſolute maſter of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people. Neither do I ſay this with the leaſt intention to detract from the many virtues of that excellent king, whoſe character, I am ſenſible, will on this account be very much leſſened in the opinion of an Engliſh reader: but I take this defect among them to have riſen from their ignorance, by not having hitherto reduced politics into a ſcience, as the more acute wits of Europe have done. For I remember very well in a diſcourſe one day with the King, when I happened to ſay there were ſeveral thouſand books among us written upon the art of government, it gave him (directly contrary to my intention,) a very mean opinion of our underſtandings. He profeſſed both to abominate and deſpiſe all myſtery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a Prince or a Miniſter. He could not tell what I meant by ſecrets of ſtate, where an enemy, or ſome rival nation, were not in the caſe. He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds, to common ſenſe and reaſon, to juſtice and lenity, to the ſpeedy determination of civil and criminal cauſes; with ſome other obvious topics, which are not worth conſidering. And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of graſs, to grow upon a ſpot of ground where only one grew before, would deſerve better of mankind, and do more eſſential ſervice to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.

The learning of this people is very defective, conſiſting only in morality, hiſtory, poetry, and mathematics, wherein they muſt be allowed to excel. But the laſt of theſe is wholly applied to what may be uſeful in life, to the improvement of agriculture, and all mechanical arts; ſo that among us it would be little eſteemed. And as to ideas, entities, abſtractions, and tranſcendantals, I could never drive the leaſt conception into their heads.

No law of that country muſt exceed in words the number of letters in their alphabet, which conſiſts only in two and twenty. But indeed few of them extend even to that length. They are expreſſed in the moſt plain and ſimple terms, wherein thoſe people are not mercurial enough to diſcover above one interpretation: and to write a comment upon any law is a capital crime. As to the deciſion of civil cauſes, or proceedings againſt criminals, their precedents are ſo few, that they have little reaſon to boaſt of any extraordinary ſkill in either.

They have had the art of printing, as well as the Chineſe, time out of mind: but their libraries are not very large; for that of the King, which is reckoned the largeſt, doth not amount to above a thouſand volumes, placed in a gallery of twelve hundred feet long, from whence I had liberty to borrow what books I pleaſed. The Queen's joiner had contrived, in one of Glumdalclitch's rooms, a kind of wooden machine five and twenty feet high, formed like a ſtanding ladder, the ſteps were each fifty feet long: it was indeed a moveable pair of ſtairs, the loweſt end placed at ten feet diſtance from the wall of the chamber. The book I had a mind to read was put up leaning againſt the wall: I firſt mounted to the upper ſtep of the ladder, and turning my face towards the book, began at the top of the page, and ſo walking to the right and left about eight or ten paces, according to the length of the lines, till I had gotten a little below the level of mine

mine eyes, and then descending gradually till I came to the bottom: after which I mounted again, and began the other page in the same manner, and so turned over the leaf, which I could easily do with both my hands, for it was as thick and stiff as a paste-board, and in the largest folios, not above eighteen or twenty feet long.

Their style is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary words, or using various expressions. I have perused many of their books, especially those in history and morality. Among the rest I was much diverted with a little old treatise, which always lay in Glumdalclitch's bed-chamber, and belonged to her governess, a grave elderly gentlewoman, who dealt in writings of morality and devotion. The book treats of the weakness of human kind, and is in little esteem, except among the women and the vulgar. However I was curious to see what an author of that country could say upon such a subject. This writer went through all the usual topics of European moralists, shewing how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an animal was man in his own nature: how unable to defend himself from inclemencies of the air, or the fury of wild beasts: how much he was excelled by one creature in strength, by another in speed, by a third in foresight, by a fourth in industry. He added, that nature was degenerated in these latter declining ages of the world, and could now produce only small abortive births, in comparison of those in ancient times. He said it was very reasonable to think, not only that the species of men were originally much larger, but also that there must have been giants in former ages; which, as it is asserted by history and tradition, so it hath been confirmed by huge bones and skulls casually dug up in several parts of the kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled race of man in our days. He argued, that the very laws of

nature abſolutely required we ſhould have been made in the beginning of a ſize more large and robuſt, not ſo liable to deſtruction from every little accident of a tile falling from an houſe, or a ſtone caſt from the hand of a boy, or being drowned in a little brook. From this way of reaſoning, the author drew ſeveral moral applications, uſeful in the conduct of life, but needleſs here to repeat. For my own part, I could not avoid reflecting how univerſally this talent was ſpread, of drawing lectures in morality, or indeed rather matter of diſcontent and repining, from the quarrels we raiſe with Nature. And, I believe, upon a ſtrict enquiry, thoſe quarrels might be ſhewn as ill-grounded among us, as they are among that people *.

As to their military affairs, they boaſt that the King's army conſiſts of an hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand foot, and thirty-two thouſand horſe: if that may be called an army, which is made up of tradeſmen in the ſeveral cities, and farmers in the country, whoſe commanders are only the nobility and gentry without pay or reward. They are indeed perfect enough in their exerciſes, and under very good diſcipline, wherein I ſaw no great merit; for how ſhould it be otherwiſe, where every farmer is under the command of his own landlord, and every citizen under that of the principal men in his own city, choſen after the manner of Venice by ballot?

I have often ſeen the militia of Lorbrulgrud drawn out to exerciſe in a great field, near the city, of twenty miles ſquare. They were in all not above twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe: but it was impoſſible for me to compute their number, conſidering the ſpace of ground they took up.

* The author's zeal to juſtify Providence has before been remarked; and theſe quarrels with Nature, or, in other words, with God, could not have been more forcibly reproved, than by ſhewing, that the complaints upon which they are founded, would be equally ſpecious among beings of ſuch aſtoniſhing ſuperiority of ſtature and ſtrength.

A cavalier, mounted on a large ſteed, might be about ninety feet high. I have ſeen this whole body of horſe, upon a word of command, draw their ſwords at once, and brandiſh them in the air. Imagination can figure nothing ſo grand, ſo ſurpriſing, and ſo aſtoniſhing! it looked as if ten thouſand flaſhes of lightning were darting at the ſame time from every quarter of the ſky.

I was curious to know how this prince, to whoſe dominions there is no acceſs from any other country, came to think of armies, or to teach his people the practice of military diſcipline. But I was ſoon informed both by converſation and reading their hiſtories: for in the courſe of many ages they have been troubled with the ſame diſeaſe to which the whole race of mankind is ſubject; the nobility often contending for power, the people for liberty, and the King for abſolute dominion All which, however, happily tempered by the laws of that kingdom, have been ſometimes violated by each of the three parties, and have more than once occaſioned civil wars, the laſt whereof was happily put an end to by this prince's grandfather in a general compoſition; and the militia, then ſettled with common conſent, hath been ever ſince kept in the ſtricteſt duty.

CHAP. VIII.

The King and Queen make a progreſs to the frontiers. The author attends them. The manner in which he leaves the country very particularly related. He returns to England.

I HAD always a ſtrong impulſe, that I ſhould ſome time recover my liberty, though it was impoſſible

poſſible to conjecture by what means, or to form any project with the leaſt hope of ſucceeding. The ſhip in which I ſailed was the firſt ever known to be driven within ſight of that coaſt, and the King had given ſtrict orders, that if at any time another appeared, it ſhould be taken aſhore, and with all its crew and paſſengers brought in a tumbril to Lorbrulgrud. He was ſtrongly bent to get me a woman of my own ſize, by whom I might propagate the breed: but I think I ſhould rather have died, than undergone the diſgrace of leaving a poſterity to be kept in cages like tame Canary birds, and perhaps in time ſold about the kingdom to perſons of quality for curioſities. I was indeed treated with much kindneſs: I was the favourite of a great King and Queen, and the delight of the whole court; but it was upon ſuch a foot, as ill became the dignity of human kind. I could never forget thoſe domeſtic pledges I had left behind me. I wanted to be among people with whom I could converſe upon even terms, and walk about the ſtreets and fields, without being afraid of being trod to death like a frog, or a young puppy. But my deliverance came ſooner than I expected, and in a manner not very common: the whole ſtory and circumſtances of which I ſhall faithfully relate.

I had now been two years in this country; and, about the beginning of the third, Glumdalclitch and I attended the King and Queen in a progreſs to the ſouth coaſt of the kingdom. I was carried as uſual in my travelling-box, which, as I have already deſcribed, was a very convenient cloſet of twelve feet wide. And I had ordered a hammock to be fixed by ſilken ropes from the four corners at the top, to break the jolts, when a ſervant carried me before him on horſeback, as I ſometimes deſired, and would often ſleep in my hammock while we were upon the road. On the roof of my cloſet, not directly over the middle of the hammock, I ordered the

the joiner to cut out a hole of a foot ſquare, to give me air in hot weather, as I ſlept; which hole I ſhut at pleaſure with a board, that drew backwards and forwards through a groove.

When we came to our journey's end, the King thought proper to paſs a few days at a palace he hath near Flanflaſnic, a city within eighteen Engliſh miles of the ſea ſide. Glumdalclitch and I were much fatigued: I had gotten a ſmall cold, but the poor girl was ſo ill as to be confined to her chamber. I longed to ſee the ocean, which muſt be the only ſcene of my eſcape, if ever it ſhould happen. I pretended to be worſe than I really was, and deſired leave to take the freſh air of the ſea with a page, whom I was very fond of, and who had ſometimes been truſted with me. I ſhall never forget with what unwillingneſs Glumdalclitch conſented, nor the ſtrict charge ſhe gave the page to be careful of me, burſting at the ſame time into a flood of tears, as if ſhe had ſome foreboding of what was to happen. The boy took me out in my box about half an hour's walk from the palace towards the rocks on the ſea ſhore. I ordered him to ſet me down, and, lifting up one of my ſaſhes, caſt many a wiſtful melancholy look towards the ſea. I found myſelf not very well, and told the page that I had a mind to take a nap in my hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the boy ſhut the window cloſe down to keep out the cold. I ſoon fell aſleep, and all I can conjecture is, that, while I ſlept, the page, thinking no danger could happen, went among the rocks to look for birds eggs, having before obſerved him from my window ſearching about, and picking up one or two in the clefts. Be that as it will, I found myſelf ſuddenly awaked with a violent pull upon the ring, which was faſtened at the top of my box for the convenience of carriage. I felt my box raiſed very high in the air, and then borne forward with prodigious ſpeed.

ſpeed. The firſt jolt had like to have ſhaken me out of my hammock, but afterwards the motion was eaſy enough. I called out ſeveral times, as loud as I could raiſe my voice, but all to no purpoſe. I looked towards my windows, and could ſee nothing but the clouds and ſky. I heard a noiſe juſt over my head like the clapping of wings, and then began to perceive the woeful condition I was in, that ſome eagle had got the ring of my box in his beak, with an intent to let it fall on a rock like a tortoiſe in a ſhell, and then pick out my body, and devour it: for the ſagacity and ſmell of this bird enabled him to diſcover his quarry at a great diſtance, tho' better concealed than I could be within a two-inch board.

In a little time I obſerved the noiſe and flutter of wings to increaſe very faſt, and my box was toſſed up and down like a ſign in a windy day. I heard ſeveral bangs or buffets, as I thought, given to the eagle, (for ſuch I am certain it muſt have been, that held the ring of my box in his beak,) and then all on a ſudden felt myſelf falling perpendicularly down for above a minute, but with ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs, that I almoſt loſt my breath. My fall was ſtopped by a terrible ſquaſh, that ſounded louder to my ears than the cataract of Niagara *; after which I was quite in the dark for another minute, and then my box began to riſe ſo high, that I could ſee light from the tops of the windows. I now perceived that I was fallen into the ſea. My box, by the weight of my body, the goods that were in, and the broad plates of iron fixed for ſtrength at the four corners of the top and bottom, floated about five feet deep in water. I did then, and do now

* Niagara is a ſettlement of the French in North America, and the cataract is produced by the fall of a conflux of water (formed of the four vaſt lakes of Canada,) from a rocky precipice, the perpendicular height of which is 137 feet; and it is ſaid to have been heard fifteen leagues.

ſuppoſe,

ſuppoſe, that the eagle which flew away with my box, was purſued by two or three others, and forced to let me drop while he defended himſelf againſt the reſt, who hoped to ſhare in the prey. The plates of iron faſtened at the bottom of the box, (for thoſe were the ſtrongeſt,) preſerved the balance while it fell, and hindered it from being broken on the ſurface of the water. Every joint of it was well grooved; and the door did not move on hinges, but up and down like a ſaſh, which kept my cloſet ſo tight, that very little water came in. I got with much difficulty out of my hammock, having firſt ventured to draw back the ſlip-board on the roof already mentioned, contrived on purpoſe to let in air, for want of which I found myſelf almoſt ſtifled.

How often did I then wiſh myſelf with my dear Glumdalclitch, from whom one ſingle hour had ſo far divided me! And I may ſay with truth, that in the midſt of my own misfortunes, I could not forbear lamenting my poor nurſe, the grief ſhe would ſuffer for my loſs, the diſpleaſure of the Queen, and the ruin of her fortune. Perhaps many travellers have not been under greater difficulties and diſtreſs than I was at this juncture, expecting every moment to ſee my box daſhed in pieces, or at leaſt overſet by the firſt violent blaſt or riſing wave. A breach in one ſingle pane of glaſs would have been immediate death: nor could any thing have preſerved the windows but the ſtrong lattice-wires placed on the out-ſide againſt accidents in travelling. I ſaw the water ooze in at ſeveral crannies, although the leaks were not conſiderable, and I endeavoured to ſtop them as well as I could. I was not able to lift up the roof of my cloſet, which otherwiſe I certainly ſhould have done, and ſat on the top of it, where I might at leaſt preſerve myſelf ſome hours longer than by being ſhut up (as I may call it) in the hold. Or if I eſcaped theſe dangers for

for a day or two, what could I expect but a miſerable death of cold and hunger? I was four hours under theſe circumſtances, expecting, and indeed wiſhing every moment to be my laſt.

I have already told the reader, that there were two ſtrong ſtaples fixed upon that ſide of my box which had no window, and into which the ſervant, who uſed to carry me on horſeback, would put a leathern belt, and buckle it about his waiſt. Being in this diſconſolate ſtate, I heard, or at leaſt thought I heard, ſome kind of grating noiſe on that ſide of my box where the ſtaples were fixed, and ſoon after I began to fancy, that the box was pulled or towed along in the ſea; for I now and then felt a ſort of tugging, which made the waves riſe near the tops of my windows, leaving me almoſt in the dark. This gave me ſome faint hopes of relief; although I was not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to unſcrew one of my chairs, which were always faſtened to the floor; and having made a hard ſhift to ſcrew it down again directly under the ſlipping-board that I had lately opened. I mounted on the chair, and putting my mouth as near as I could to the hole, I called for help in a loud voice, and in all the languages I underſtood. I then faſtened my handkerchief to a ſtick I uſually carried, and thruſting it up the hole, waved it ſeveral times in the air, that if any boat or ſhip were near, the ſeamen might conjecture ſome unhappy mortal to be ſhut up in the box.

I found no effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my cloſet to be moved along; and in the ſpace of an hour, or better, that ſide of the box where the ſtaples were, and had no window, ſtruck againſt ſomething that was hard. I apprehended it to be a rock, and found myſelf toſſed more than ever. I plainly heard a noiſe upon the cover of my cloſet, like that of a cable, and the grating of it as it paſſed through the ring. I then found myſelf hoiſted

hoisted up by degrees, at least three feet higher than I was before. Whereupon I again thrust up my stick and handkerchief, calling for help till I was almost hoarse. In return to which, I heard a great shout repeated three times, giving me such transports of joy as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them. I now heard a trampling over my head, and somebody calling through the hole in a loud voice in the English tongue, if there be any body below, let them speak. I answered, I was an Englishman, drawn by ill fortune into the greatest calamity that ever any creature underwent, and begged by all that was moving to be delivered out of the dungeon I was in. The voice replied I was safe, for my box was fastened to their ship; and the carpenter should immediately come and saw a hole in the cover, large enough to pull me out. I answered, that was needless, and would take up too much time, for there was no more to be done, but let one of the crew put his finger into the ring, and take the box out of the sea into the ship, and so into the captain's cabin *. Some of them upon hearing me talk so wildly thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it never came into my head that I was now got among people of my own stature and strength. The carpenter came, and in a few minutes sawed a passage about four feet square, then let down a small ladder, upon which I mounted, and from thence was taken into the ship in a very weak condition.

The sailors were all in amazement, and asked me a thousand questions, which I had no inclination to

* There are several little incidents which shew the author to have had a deep knowledge of human nature; and I think this is one. Although the principal advantages enumerated by Gulliver in the beginning of this chapter, of mingling again among his countrymen, depended on their being of the same size with himself; yet this is forgotten in his ardour to be delivered: and he is after a-days enraged into the same absurdity, by his zeal to preserve his furniture.

anſwer. I was equally confounded at the ſight of ſo many pigmies, for ſuch I took them to be, after having ſo long accuſtomed mine eyes to the monſtrous objects I had left. But the captain, Mr Thomas Wilcocks, an honeſt worthy Shropſhire man, obſerving I was ready to faint, took me into his cabin, gave me a cordial to comfort me, and made me *turn in* upon his own bed, adviſing me to take a little reſt, of which I had great need. Before I went to ſleep, I gave him to underſtand that I had ſome valuable furniture in my box, too good to be loſt; a fine hammock, an handſome field-bed, two chairs, a table and a cabinet. That my cloſet was hung on all ſides, or rather quilted, with ſilk and cotton: that if he would let one of the crew bring my cloſet into his cabbin, I would open it there before him, and ſhew him my goods. The captain hearing me utter theſe abſurdities concluded I was raving: however (I ſuppoſe to pacify me) he promiſed to give orders as I deſired, and going upon deck ſent ſome of his men down into my cloſet, from whence (as I afterwards found) they drew up all my goods, and ſtripped off the quilting: but the chairs, cabinet, and bed-ſtead, being ſcrewed to the floor, were much damaged by the ignorance of the ſeamen, who tore them up by force. Then they knocked off ſome of the boards for the uſe of the ſhip, and when they had got all they had a mind for, let the hull drop into the ſea, which, by reaſon of many breaches made in the bottom and ſides, ſunk to rights. And indeed I was glad not to have been a ſpectator of the havock they made; becauſe I am confident it would have ſenſibly touched me by bringing former paſſages into my mind, which I had rather forget.

I ſlept ſome hours, but perpetually diſturbed with dreams of the place I had left, and the dangers I had eſcaped. However, upon waking I found myſelf much recovered. It was now about eight o'clock

o'clock at night, and the captain ordered ſupper immediately, thinking I had already faſted too long. He entertained me with great kindneſs, obſerving me not to look wildly, or talk inconſiſtently; and, when we were left alone, deſired I would give him a relation of my travels, and by what accident I came to be ſet a drift in that monſtrous wooden cheſt. He ſaid, that about twelve o'clock at noon, as he was looking through his glaſs, he ſpied it at a diſtance, and thought it was a ſail, which he had a mind to make, being not much out of his courſe, in hopes of buying ſome biſket, his own beginning to fall ſhort. That upon coming nearer, and finding his error, he ſent out his long boat to diſcover what I was; that his men came became back in a fright, ſwearing they had ſeen a ſwimming houſe. That he laughed at their folly, and went himſelf in the boat, ordering his men to take a ſtrong cable along with them. That the weather being calm he rowed round me ſeveral times, obſerved my windows, and the wire lattices that defended them. That he diſcovered two ſtaples upon one ſide, which was all of boards without any paſſage for light. He then commanded his men to row up to that ſide, and faſtening a cable to one of the ſtaples, ordered them to tow my cheſt (as they called it) towards the ſhip. When it was there, he gave directions to faſten another cable to the ring fixed in the cover, and to raiſe up my cheſt with pullies, which all the ſailors were not able to do above two or three feet. He ſaid they ſaw my ſtick and handkerchief thruſt out of the hole, and concluded that ſome unhappy man muſt be ſhut up in the cavity. I aſked, whether he or the crew had ſeen any prodigious birds in the air about the time he firſt diſcovered me? to which he anſwered, that, diſcourſing this matter with the ſailors while I was aſleep, one of them ſaid he had *obſerved* three eagles flying towards the *north*, but remarked nothing of their

being larger than the usual size, which, I suppose, must be imputed to the great height they were at; and he could not guess the reason of my question. I then asked the captain, how far he reckoned we might be from land? He said, by the best computation he could make, we were at least an hundred leagues. I assured him that he must be mistaken by almost half, for I had not left the country from whence I came above two hours before I dropt into the sea. Whereupon he began again to think that my brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a hint, and advised me to go to bed in a cabbin he had provided. I assured him I was well refreshed with his good entertainment and company, and as much in my senses as ever I was in my life. He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely whether I were not troubled in mind by the consciousness of some enormous crime, for which I was punished at the command of some prince, by exposing me in that chest, as great criminals in other countries have been forced to sea in a leaky vessel without provisions: for although he should be sorry to have taken so ill a man into his ship, yet he would engage his word to set me safe ashore in the first port where we arrived. He added, that his suspicions were very much increased by some very absurd speeches I had delivered at first to the sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my closet or chest, as well as by my odd looks and behaviour while I was at supper.

I begged his patience to hear me tell my story, which I faithfully did from the last time I left England to the moment he first discovered me. And as truth always forceth its way into rational minds, so this honest worthy gentleman, who had some tincture of learning and very good sense, was immediately convinced of my candour and veracity. But, farther to confirm all I had said, I intreated him to give order that my cabinet should be brought, of which

which I had the key in my pocket, (for he had already informed me how the ſeamen diſpoſed of my cloſet). I opened it in his preſence, and ſhewed him the ſmall collection of rarities I made in the country from whence I had been ſo ſtrangely delivered. There was the comb I had contrived out of the ſtumps of the King's beard, and another of the ſame materials, but fixed into a paring of her Majeſty's thumb-nail, which ſerved for the back. There was a collection of needles and pins from a foot to half a yard long; four waſp-ſtings, like joiners tacks; ſome combings of the Queen's hair; a gold ring which one day ſhe made me a preſent of in a moſt obliging manner, taking it from her little finger, and throwing it over my head like a collar. I deſired the captain would accept this ring in return of his civilities; which he abſolutely refuſed. I ſhewed him a corn that I had cut off with my own hand from a maid of honour's toe; it was about the bigneſs of a Kentiſh pippin, and grown ſo hard, that, when I returned to England, I got it hollowed into a cup, and ſet in ſilver. Laſtly, I deſired him to ſee the breeches I had then on, which were made of a mouſe's ſkin.

I could force nothing on him but a footman's tooth, which I obſerved him to examine with great curioſity, and found he had a fancy for it. He received it with abundance of thanks, more than ſuch a trifle could deſerve. It was drawn by an unſkilful ſurgeon in a miſtake from one of Glumdalclitch's men, who was afflicted with the tooth-ach, but as it was as ſound as any in his head. I got it cleaned and put into my cabinet. It was about a foot long, and four inches in diameter.

The captain was very well ſatisfied with this plain relation I had given him, and ſaid, he hoped, when we returned to England, I would oblige the world by putting it on paper, and making it public. My anſwer was, that I thought we were already overſtocked with books of travels; that nothing could

now paſs which was not extraordinary; wherein I doubted ſome authors leſs conſulted truth, than their own vanity, or intereſt, or the diverſion of ignorant readers: that my ſtory could contain little beſides common events, without thoſe ornamental deſcriptions of ſtrange plants, trees, birds, and other animals; or of the barbarous cuſtom and idolatry of ſavage people, with which moſt writers abound. However, I thanked him for his good opinion, and promiſed to take the matter into my thoughts.

He ſaid, he wondered at one thing very much, which was, to hear me ſpeak ſo loud, aſking me whether the King or Queen of that country were thick of hearing. I told him, it was what I had been uſed to for above two years paſt; and that I admired as much at the voices of him and his men, who ſeemed to me only to whiſper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But when I ſpoke in that country, it was like a man talking in the ſtreet to another looking out from the top of a ſteeple, unleſs when I was placed on a table, or held in any perſon's hand. I told him, I had likewiſe obſerved another thing, that when I firſt got into the ſhip, and the ſailors ſtood all about me, I thought they were the moſt little contemptible creatures I had ever beheld. For indeed, while I was in that prince's country, I could never endure to look in a glaſs, after mine eyes had been accuſtomed to ſuch prodigious objects, becauſe the compariſon gave me ſo deſpicable a conceit of myſelf. The captain ſaid, that while we were at ſupper he obſerved me to look at every thing with a ſort of wonder, and that I often ſeemed hardly able to contain my laughter, which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to ſome diſorder in my brain. I anſwered, it was very true; and I wondered how I could forbear, when I ſaw his diſhes of the ſize of a ſilver threepence, a leg of pork hardly a mouthful, a cup not ſo big as a nut-ſhell; and ſo I went on, deſcribing the

the reſt of his houſehold-ſtuff and proviſions after the ſame manner. For although the Queen had ordered a little equipage of all things neceſſary for me, while I was in her ſervice, yet my ideas were wholly taken up with what I ſaw on every ſide of me, and I winked at my own littleneſs, as people do at their own faults. The captain underſtood my raillery very well, and merrily replied with the old Engliſh proverb, that he doubted mine eyes were bigger than my belly, for he did not obſerve my ſtomach ſo good although I had faſted all day: and, continuing in his mirth, proteſted he would gladly have given an hundred pounds to have ſeen my cloſet in the eagle's bill, and afterwards in its fall from ſo great a height into the ſea; which would certainly have been a moſt aſtoniſhing object, worthy to have the deſcription of it tranſmitted to future ages: and the compariſon of Phaeton was ſo obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the conceit.

The captain, having been at Tonquin, was in his return to England driven north-eaſtward to the latitude of 44 degrees, and of longitude 143. But meeting a trade-wind two days after I came on board him, we ſailed ſouthward a long time, and coaſting New-Holland, kept our courſe weſt-ſouth-weſt, and then ſouth-ſouth weſt, till we doubled the Cape of Good-Hope. Our voyage was very proſperous, but I ſhall not trouble the reader with a journal of it. The captain called in at one or two ports, and ſent in his long-boat for proviſions and freſh water, but I never went out of the ſhip till we came into the Downs, which was on the third day of June 1706, about nine months after my eſcape. I offered to leave my goods in ſecurity for payment of my freight; but the captain proteſted he would not receive one farthing. We took a kind leave of each other, and I made him promiſe he would come to ſee me at my houſe in Redriff. I hired

hired a horſe and guide for five ſhillings, which I borrowed of the captain.

As I was on the road, obſerving the littleneſs of the houſes, the trees, the cattle, and the people, I began to think myſelf in Lilliput. I was afraid of trampling on every traveller I met, and often called aloud to have them ſtand out of the way, ſo that I had like to have gotten one or two broken heads for my impertinence.

When I came to my own houſe, for which I was forced to inquire, one of the ſervants opening the door, I bent down to go in (like a gooſe under a gate) for fear of ſtriking my head. My wife ran out to embrace me, but I ſtooped lower than her knees, thinking ſhe could otherwiſe never be able to reach my mouth. My daughter kneeled to aſk my bleſſing, but I could not ſee her till ſhe aroſe, having been ſo long uſed to ſtand with my head and eyes erect to above ſixty feet; and then I went to take her up with one hand by the waiſt. I looked down upon the ſervants, and one or two friends who were in the houſe, as if they had been pigmies, and I a giant. I told my wife ſhe had been too thrifty, for I found ſhe had ſtarved herſelf and her daughter to nothing. In ſhort I behaved myſelf ſo unaccountably, that they were all of the captain's opinion when he firſt ſaw me, and concluded I had loſt my wits. This I mention as an inſtance of the great power of habit and prejudice.

In a little time, I and my family and friends came to a right underſtanding: but my wife proteſted I ſhould never go to ſea any more: although my evil deſtiny ſo ordered, that ſhe had not power to hinder me, as the reader may know hereafter. In the mean time, I here conclude the ſecond part of my unfortunate voyages *.

* From the whole of theſe two voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag, ariſes one general remark, which, however obvious, has been overlooked by thoſe who conſider them as little more than the ſport

port of a wanton imagination. When human actions are aſcribed to pigmies and giants, there are few that do not excite either contempt, diſguſt, or horror. To aſcribe them therefore to ſuch beings, was perhaps the moſt probable method of engaging the mind to examine them with attention, and judge of them with impartiality, by ſuſpending the faſcination of habit, and exhibiting familiar objects in a new light. The uſe of the fable then is not leſs apparent, than important and extenſive; and that this uſe was intended by the author, can be doubted only by thoſe who are diſpoſed to affirm, that order and regularity are the effects of chance.

Upon reading over the two firſt parts of theſe travels, I think that I can diſcern a very great reſemblance between certain paſſages in Gulliver's voyage to Lilliput, and the voyage of Cyrano de Bergerac to the ſun and moon.—— Cyrano de Bergerac is a French author of a ſingular character, who had a very peculiar turn of wit and humour, in many reſpects reſembling that of Swift. He wanted the advantages of learning, and a regular education. His imagination was leſs guarded and correct, but more agreeably extravagant. He has introduced into his philoſophical romance, the ſyſtem of Deſcartes, (which was then much admired) intermixed with ſeveral fine ſtrokes of juſt ſatire on the wild and immechanical inquiries of the philoſophers and aſtronomers of that age; and in many parts he has evidently directed the plan which the Dean of St Patrick's has purſued. *Orrery.*

TRAVELS

TRAVELS

Into several REMOTE NATIONS of the World.

PART III.

A VOYAGE to LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG, GLUBBDUBDRIB, and JAPAN *.

CHAP. I.

The author sets out on his third voyage, is taken by pirates. The malice of a Dutchman. His arrival at an island. He is received into Laputa.

I HAD not been at home above ten days, when Captain William Robinson, a Cornish man, commander of the Hope-well, a stout ship of three hundred tuns, came to my house. I had formerly

* The third part is in general written against chymists, mathematicians, mechanics, and projectors of all kinds.

Swift was little acquainted with mathematical knowledge, and was prejudiced against it, by observing the strange effects it produced in those who applied themselves entirely to that science. No part of human literature has given greater strength to the mind, or has produced greater benefits to mankind, than the several branches of learning, that may pass under the general denomination of mathematics. But the abuses of this study, the idle, vain, immechanical refinement of it, are just subjects of satire. The real use of knowledge is to invigorate, not to enervate the faculties of reason. Learning degenerates into a species of madness, when it is not superior to what it possesseth. The scientific powers are most evident, when they are capable of exerting themselves in the social duties of life; when they wear

formerly been surgeon of another ship, where he was master and a fourth part owner, in a voyage to the Levant; he had always treated me more like a brother, than an inferior officer, and, hearing of

wear no chains, but can freely disengage themselves, and, like a sound constitution of body, rise chearful, and more vigorous, by the food they have acquired, being neither oppressed, nor rendered stupid by the labours of digestion.

Lord Bacon has justly exposed the vain pursuits of ostentatious pedants in the different parts of learning; and their unaccountable temerity in deducing general rules from arbitrary maxims, or few experiments: he has likewise fixed upon a sure and certain basis, the procedure and limits of the human understanding. Swift has pursued the same plan in a different manner, and has placed the imaginary schemes of all pretenders, in a more ludicrous, and therefore in a more proper light.

——————— *Ridiculum acri*
Fortius ac melius, magnas plerumque secat res.

He cannot be supposed to condemn useful experiments, or the right application of them: but he ridicules the vain attempts and irregular productions of those rash men, who, like Ixion, embracing a cloud instead of a goddess, plagued the world with centaurs; whilst Jupiter, from the embraces of a Juno, and an Alcmena, blessed the earth with an Hebe, and an Hercules. *Orrery.*

The design of Gulliver, in his voyage to Laputa, is to ridicule the vain pretensions of chymists, mathematicians, projectors, and the rest of that speculative tribe, who spend their time in aerial studies, by no means calculated to improve the faculties of the mind, or to inlarge the number of ideas; mathematicians (I mean those only who are entirely devoted to their circles, their telescopes, and their laboratory) being a race of men so very abstracted from all sublunary affairs, that scarce one in twenty of them can give you a rational answer. However, indeed, a certain degree of mathematical knowledge is, without dispute, extremely necessary in the pursuit of the Æsculapian science, architecture, and other species of mechanics. But when the soul rambles after a thousand chimeras, and the brain is wholly absorbed in the consideration of the several powers of attraction, repulsion, and the circulation of the heavenly bodies; or when a projector, with sooty hands and face, is employed in his laboratory in producing a considerable degree of cold, in order to refrigerate the air, and qualify the raging of the dog-star, which exactly answers to the project of extracting sun beams out of cucumbers; such follies and extravagancies are certainly the objects of derision. And accordingly Dr. Swift has laughed egregiously in the voyage to Laputa, and exerted a vein of humour, not against the whole tribe of chymists, projectors, and mathematicians in general; but against those, and those only, who despise the useful branches of science, and waste their lives in the pursuit of aerial vanities and extravagancies. *Swift.*

my

my arrival, made me a visit, as I apprehend, only out of friendship; for nothing passed more than what is usual after long absences. But, repeating his visits often, expressing his joy to find me in good health, asking whether I were now settled for life; adding, that he intended a voyage to the East-Indies in two months; at last he plainly invited me, though with some apologies, to be surgeon of the ship; that I should have another surgeon under me, besides our two mates; that my salary should be double to the usual pay; and that having experienced my knowledge in sea affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any engagement to follow my advice, as much as if I had shared in the command.

He said so many other obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a man, that I could not reject his proposal; the thirst I had of seeing the world, notwithstanding my past misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever. The only difficulty that remained, was to persuade my wife, whose consent however I at last obtained by the prospect of advantage she proposed to her children.

We set out the 5th day of August 1706, and arrived at Fort St. George the 11th of April 1707. We stayed there three weeks to refresh our crew, many of whom were sick. From thence we went to Tonquin, where the captain resolved to continue some time, because many of the goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched in several months. Therefore, in hopes to defray some of the charges he must be at, he bought a sloop, loaded it with several sorts of goods, wherewith the Tonquinese usually trade to the neighbouring islands, and putting fourteen men on board, whereof three were of the country, he appointed me master of the sloop, and gave me power to traffic, while he transacted his affairs at Tonquin.

We

We had not failed above three days, when, a great ſtorm ariſing, we were driven five days to the N. N. E. and then to the E; after which we had fair weather, but ſtill with a pretty ſtrong gale from the W. Upon the tenth day, we were chaſed by two pyrates, who ſoon overtook us; for my ſloop was ſo deep laden, that ſhe ſailed very ſlow, neither were we in a condition to defend ourſelves.

We were boarded about the ſame time by both the pyrates, who entered furiouſly at the head of their men; but, finding us all proſtrate upon our faces, (for ſo I gave order,) they pinioned us with ſtrong ropes, and, ſetting a guard upon us, went to ſearch the ſloop.

I obſerved among them a Dutchman, who ſeemed to be of ſome authority, though he was not commander of either ſhip. He knew us by our countenances to be Engliſhmen, and jabbering to us in his own language, ſwore we ſhould be tied back to back, and thrown into the ſea. I ſpoke Dutch tolerably well; I told him who we were, and begged him, in conſideration of our being Chriſtians and Proteſtants of neighbouring countries in ſtrict alliance, that he would move the captains to take ſome pity on us. This inflamed his rage, he repeated his threatenings, and, turning to his companions, ſpoke with great vehemence in the Japaneſe language, as I ſuppoſe, often uſing the word *Chriſtians*.

The largeſt of the two pyrate ſhips was commanded by a Japaneſe captain, who ſpoke a little Dutch, but very imperfectly. He came up to me, and after ſeveral queſtions, which I anſwered in great humility, he ſaid we ſhould not die. I made the captain a very low bow, and then turning to the Dutchman ſaid, I was ſorry to find more mercy in an Heathen, than in a brother Chriſtian. But I had ſoon reaſon to repent thoſe fooliſh words: for that malicious reprobate, having often endeavoured in vain to perſuade both the captains, that

I might be thrown into the sea, (which they would not yield to after the promise made me that I should not die,) however prevailed so far as to have a punishment inflicted on me, worse, in all human appearance, than death itself. My men were sent by an equal division into both the pyrate ships, and my sloop new manned. As to myself, it was determined that I should be set a-drift in a small canoe, with paddles and a sail, and four days provisions, which last the Japanese captain was so kind to double out of his own stores, and would permit no man to search me. I got down into the canoe, while the Dutchman, standing upon the deck, loaded me with all the curses and injurious terms his language could afford.

About an hour before we saw the pyrates, I had taken an observation, and found we were in the latitude of 46 N. and of longitude 183. When I was at some distance from the pyrates, I discovered by my pocket glass several islands to the south-east. I set up my sail, the wind being fair, with a design to reach the nearest of those islands, which I made shift to do in about three hours. It was all rocky. however I got many birds eggs, and, striking fire I kindled some heath and dry sea-weed, by which I roasted my eggs. I eat no other supper, being resolved to spare my provisions as much as I could. I passed the night under the shelter of a rock, strewing some heath under me, and slept pretty well.

The next day I sailed to another island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using my sail, and sometimes my paddles. But, not to trouble the reader with a particular account of my distresses, let it suffice, that, on the fifth day, I arrived at the last island in my sight, which lay south-east to the former.

This island was at a greater distance than I expected, and I did not reach it in less than five hours. I encompassed it almost round, before I could

could find a convenient place to land in, which was a small creek about three times the wideness of my canoe. I found the island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with tufts of grass, and sweet smelling herbs. I took out my small provisions, and, after having refreshed myself, I secured the remainder in a cave, whereof there were great numbers. I gathered plenty of eggs upon the rocks, and got a quantity of dry sea-weed, and parched grass, which I designed to kindle the next day, and roast my eggs as well as I could, (for I had about me my flint, steel, match, and burning glass). I lay all night in the cave where I had lodged my provisions. My bed was the same dry grass and sea-weed which I intended for fuel. I slept very little, for the disquiets of my mind prevailed over my weariness, and kept me awake. I considered how impossible it was to preserve my life in so desolate a place, and how miserable my end must be. Yet found myself so listless and desponding, that I had not the heart to rise; and before I could get spirits enough to creep out of my cave, the day was far advanced. I walked a while among the rocks, the sky was perfectly clear, and the sun so hot, that I was forced to turn my face from it; when all on a sudden it became obscure, as I thought, in a manner very different from what happens by the interposition of a cloud. I turned back, and perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun, moving towards the island: it seemed to be about two miles high, and hid the sun six or seven minutes, but I did not observe the air to be much colder, or the sky more darkened, than if I had stood under the shade of a mountain. As it approached nearer over the place where I was, it appeared to be a firm substance, the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright from the reflexion of the sea below. I stood upon a height about two hundred yards from the shore, and saw this vast

body descending almost to a parallel with me, at less than an English mile distance. I took out my pocket-perspective, and could plainly discover numbers of people moving up and down the sides of it, which appeared to be sloping; but what these people were doing, I was not able to distinguish.

The natural love of life gave me some inward motions of joy, and I was ready to entertain a hope, that this adventure might some way or other help to deliver me from the desolate place and condition I was in. But at the same time the reader can hardly conceive my astonishment, to behold an island in the air, inhabited by men, who were able (as it should seem,) to raise or sink, or put it into a progressive motion, as they pleased. But not being at that time in a disposition to philosophise upon this phænomenon, I rather chose to observe what course the island would take, because it seemed for a while to stand still. Yet soon after it advanced nearer, and I could see the sides of it encompassed with several gradations of galleries, and stairs at certain intervals to descend from one to the other. In the lowest gallery I beheld some people fishing with long angling rods, and others looking on. I waved my cap (for my hat was long since worn out,) and my handkerchief towards the island; and, upon its nearer approach, I called and shouted with the utmost strength of my voice; and then, looking circumspectly, I beheld a croud gathered to that side, which was most in my view. I found, by their pointing towards me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no return to my shouting. But I could see four or five men running in great haste up the stair to the top of the island, who then disappeared. I happened rightly to conjecture, that these were sent for orders to some person in authority upon this occasion.

The number of people increased, and in less than half an hour, the island was moved and raised in such

such a manner, that the lowest gallery appeared in a parallel of less than an hundred yards distance from the height where I stood. I then put myself into the most supplicating postures, and spoke in the humblest accent, but received no answer. Those, who stood nearest over-against me, seemed to be persons of distinction, as I supposed by their habit. They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me. At length one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth dialect, not unlike in sound to the Italian, and therefore I returned an answer in that language, hoping at least, that the cadence might be more agreeable to his ears. Although neither of us understood the other, yet my meaning was easily known, for the people saw the distress I was in.

They made signs for me to come down from the rock, and go towards the shore, which I accordingly did; and the flying island being raised to a convenient height, the verge directly over me, a chain was let down from the lowest gallery, with a seat fastened to the bottom, to which I fixed myself, and was drawn up by pullies.

CHAP. II.

The humours and dispositions of the Laputians described. An account of their learning. Of the King, and his court. The author's reception there. The inhabitants subject to fear and disquietudes. An account of the women.

AT my alighting I was surrounded with a croud of people, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better quality. They beheld me with all the marks and circumstances of wonder, neither indeed

was I much in their debt; having never till then ſeen a race of mortals ſo ſingular in their ſhapes, habits, and countenances. Their heads were all reclined either to the right or to the left; one of their eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the zenith *. Their outward garments were adorned with the figures of ſuns, moons, and ſtars, interwoven with thoſe of fiddles, flutes, harps, trumpets, guittars, harpſicords, and many other inſtruments of muſic unknown to us in Europe. I obſerved here and there many in the habit of ſervants, with a blown bladder faſtened like a flayl to the end of a ſhort ſtick, which they carried in their hands. In each bladder was a ſmall quantity of dried peas, or little pebbles, (as I was afterwards informed.) With theſe bladders they now and then flapped the mouths and ears of thoſe who ſtood near them, of which practice I then could not conceive the meaning. It ſeems the minds of thoſe people are ſo taken up with intenſe ſpeculations, that they neither can ſpeak, nor attend to the diſcourſes of others, without being rouſed by ſome external action upon the organs of ſpeech and hearing; for which reaſon, thoſe perſons who are able to afford it, always keep a *flapper* (the original is *climenole*,) in their family, as one of their domeſtics, nor ever walk abroad, or make viſits without him. And the buſineſs of this officer is, when two, three, or more perſons, are in company, gently to ſtrike with his bladder the mouth of him who is to ſpeak, and the right ear of him or them to whom the ſpeaker addreſſeth himſelf. This flapper is likewiſe employed diligently to attend his maſter in his walks, and upon occaſion to give him a ſoft flap on his eyes, becauſe he is always ſo wrapped up in cogitation, that he is in manifeſt danger of falling down every precipice, and

* By this deſcription the author intended to ridicule thoſe who waſte life in ſpeculative ſcience, the powers of whoſe minds are as abſurdly employed as the eyes of the Laputians.

bouncing

bouncing his head againſt every poſt; and in the ſtreets, of juſtling others, or being juſtled himſelf into the kennel.

It was neceſſary to give the reader this information, without which he would be at the ſame loſs with me to underſtand the proceedings of theſe people, as they conducted me up the ſtairs to the top of the iſland, and from thence to the royal palace. While we were aſcending, they forgot ſeveral times what they were about, and left me to myſelf, till their memories were again rouſed by their flappers; for they appeared altogether unmoved by the ſight of my foreign habit and countenance, and by the ſhouts of the vulgar, whoſe thoughts and minds were more diſengaged.

At laſt we entered the palace, and proceeded into the chamber of preſence, where I ſaw the King ſeated on his throne, attended on each ſide by perſons of prime quality. Before the throne was a large table filled with globes and ſpheres, and mathematical inſtruments of all kinds. His Majeſty took not the leaſt notice of us, although our entrance was not without ſufficient noiſe, by the concourſe of all perſons belonging to the court. But he was then deep in a problem, and we attended at leaſt an hour, before he could ſolve it. There ſtood by him on each ſide a young page with flaps in their hands, and when they ſaw he was at leiſure, one of them gently ſtruck his mouth, and the other his right ear; at which he ſtarted like one awaked on the ſudden, and, looking towards me and the company I was in, recollected the occaſion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before. He ſpoke ſome words, whereupon immediately a young man with a flap came up to my ſide, and flapt me gently on the right ear, but I made ſigns, as well as I could, that I had no occaſion for ſuch an inſtrument; which, as I afterwards found, gave his Majeſty and the whole court a very mean opinion of

of my underſtanding. The King, as far as I could conjecture, aſked me ſeveral queſtions, and I addreſſed myſelf to him in all the languages I had. When it was found, that I could neither underſtand, nor be underſtood, I was conducted by his order to an apartment in his palace, (this prince being diſtinguiſhed above all his predeceſſors for his hoſpitality to ſtrangers, (where two ſervants were appointed to attend me. My dinner was brought, and four perſons of quality, whom I remembered to have ſeen very near the King's perſon, did me the honour to dine with me. We had two courſes, of three diſhes each. In the firſt courſe there was a ſhoulder of mutton cut into an æquilateral triangle, a piece of beef into a rhomboides, and a pudding into a cycloid. The ſecond courſe was two ducks truſſed up into the form of fiddles; ſauſages and puddings reſembling flutes and hautboys, and a breaſt of veal in the ſhape of a harp. The ſervants cut our bread into cones, cylinders, parallelograms, and ſeveral other mathematical figures.

While we were at dinner, I made bold to aſk the names of ſeveral things in their language, and thoſe noble perſons, by the aſſiſtance of their flappers delighted to give me anſwers, hoping to raiſe my admiration of their great abilities, if I could be brought to converſe with them. I was ſoon able to call for bread and drink, or whatever elſe I wanted.

After dinner my company withdrew, and a perſon was ſent to me by the King's order, attended by a flapper. He brought with him pen, ink, and paper, and three or four books, giving me to underſtand by ſigns, that he was ſent to teach me the language. We ſat together four hours, in which time I wrote down a great number of words in columns, with the tranſlations over-againſt them; I likewiſe made a ſhift to learn ſeveral ſhort ſentences. For my tutor would order one of my ſervants to fetch ſomething, to turn about, to make a bow, to ſit,

it, or to ſtand, or walk, and the like. Then I took down the ſentence in writing. He ſhewed me alſo in one of his books the figures of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, the tropics, the zodiac, and polar circles, together with the denominations of many figures of planes and ſolids. He gave me the names and deſcriptions of all the muſical inſtruments, and the general terms of art in playing on each of them. After he had left me, I placed all my words with their interpretations in alphabetical order. And thus in a few days, by the help of a very faithful memory, I got ſome inſight into their language.

The word, which I interpret the *flying* or *floating iſland*, is in the original Laputa, whereof I could never learn the true etymology. *Lap* in the old obſolete language ſignifieth *high*, and *untuth* a *governor*, from which they ſay by corruption was derived Laputa, from Lapuntuth. But I do not approve of this derivation, which ſeems to be a little ſtrained. I ventured to offer to the learned among them a conjecture of my own, that Laputa was *quaſi lap outed*; *lap* ſignifying properly the dancing of the ſun-beams in the ſea, and *outed* a wing, which however I ſhall not obtrude, but ſubmit to the judicious reader.

Thoſe to whom the King had intruſted me, obſerving how ill I was clad, ordered a taylor to come next morning, and take meaſure for a ſuit of cloaths. This operator did his office after a different manner from thoſe of his trade in Europe. He firſt took my altitude by a quadrant, and then with rule and compaſſes deſcribed the dimenſions and out-lines of my whole body, all which he entered upon paper; and in ſix days brought my cloaths very ill made and quite out of ſhape, by happening to miſtake a figure in the calculation. But my comfort was, that I obſerved ſuch accidents very frequent, and little regarded.

During my confinement for want of cloaths, and by

by an indiſpoſition that held me ſome days longer, I much enlarged my dictionary; and when I went next to court, was able to underſtand many things the King ſpoke, and to return him ſome kind of anſwers. His Majeſty had given orders, that the iſland ſhould move north eaſt and by eaſt to the vertical point over Lagado, the metropolis of the whole kingdom below upon the firm earth. It was about ninety leagues diſtant, and our voyage laſted four days and a half. I was not in the leaſt ſenſible of the progreſſive motion made in the air by the iſland. On the ſecond morning about eleven a-clock the King himſelf in perſon attended by his nobility, courtiers, and officers, having prepared all their muſical inſtruments, played on them for three hours without intermiſſion, ſo that I was quite ſtunned with the noiſe; neither could I poſſibly gueſs the meaning, till my tutor informed me. He ſaid, that the people of their iſland had their ears adapted to hear the muſic of the ſpheres, which always played at certain periods, and the court was now prepared to bear their part, in whatever inſtrument they moſt excelled.

In our journey towards Lagado, the capital city, his Majeſty ordered that the iſland ſhould ſtop over certain towns and villages, from whence he might receive the petitions of his ſubjects. And to this purpoſe ſeveral pack-threads were let down with ſmall weights at the bottom. On theſe pack-threads the people ſtrung their petitions, which mounted up directly, like the ſcraps of paper faſtened by ſchool-boys at the end of the ſtring that holds their kite. Sometimes we received wine and victuals from below, which were drawn up by pullies.

The knowledge I had in mathematics gave me great aſſiſtance in acquiring their phraſeology, which depended much upon that ſcience, and muſic; and in the latter I was not unſkilled. Their ideas are perpetually converſant in lines and figures.

If

If they would, for example, praiſe the beauty of a woman, or any other animal, they deſcribe it by rhombs, circles, parallelograms, ellipſes, and other geometrical terms, or by words of art drawn from muſic, needleſs here to repeat. I obſerved in the King's kitchen all ſorts of mathematical and muſical inſtruments, after the figures of which they cut up the joints that were ſerved to his Majeſty's table.

Their houſes are very ill built, the walls bevil, without one right angle in any apartment; and this defect ariſeth from the contempt they bear to practical geometry, which they deſpiſe as vulgar and mechanic, thoſe inſtructions they give being too refined for the intellectuals of their workmen, which occaſions perpetual miſtakes. And although they are dexterous enough upon a piece of paper in the management of the rule, the pencil, and the divider; yet in the common actions and behaviour of life, I have not ſeen a more clumſy, awkward, and unhandy people, nor ſo ſlow and perplexed in their conceptions upon all other ſubjects, except thoſe of mathematics and muſic. They are very bad reaſoners, and vehemently given to oppoſition, unleſs when they happen to be of the right opinion which is ſeldom their caſe. Imagination, fancy, and invention, they are wholly ſtrangers to, nor have any words in their language, by which thoſe ideas can be expreſſed; the whole compaſs of their thoughts and mind being ſhut up within the two fore-mentioned ſciences.

Moſt of them, and eſpecially thoſe who deal in the aſtronomical part, have great faith in judicial aſtrology, although they are aſhamed to own it publicly. But what I chiefly admired, and thought altogether unaccountable, was the ſtrong diſpoſition I obſerved in them towards news and politics, perpetually inquiring into public affairs, giving their judgements in matters of ſtate, and paſſionately diſputing every inch of a party opinion. I have indeed

deed obſerved the ſame diſpoſition among moſt of the mathematicians I have known in Europe, although I could never diſcover the leaſt analogy between the two ſciences; unleſs thoſe people ſuppoſe, that becauſe the ſmalleſt circle hath as many degrees as the largeſt, therefore the regulation and management of the world require no more abilities, than the handling and turning of a globe: but I rather take this quality to ſpring from a very common infirmity of human nature, inclining us to be moſt curious and conceited in matters where we have leaſt concern, and for which we are leaſt adapted, either by ſtudy or nature.

Theſe people are under continual diſquietudes, never enjoying a minutes peace of mind; and their diſturbances proceed from cauſes, which very little affect the reſt of mortals. Their apprehenſions ariſe from ſeveral changes they dread in the celeſtial bodies. For inſtance, that the earth, by the continual approaches of the ſun towards it, muſt be abſorbed or ſwallowed up. That the face of the ſun will by degrees be incruſted with its own effluvia, and give no more light to the world. That the earth very narrowly eſcaped a bruſh from the tail of the laſt comet, which would have infallibly reduced it to aſhes; and that the next, which they have calculated for one and thirty years hence, will probably deſtroy us. For, if in its perihelion it ſhould approach within a certain degree of the ſun (as by their calculations they have reaſon to dread) it will receive a degree of heat ten thouſand times more intenſe, than that of red hot glowing iron; and, in its abſence from the ſun, carry a blazing tail ten hundred thouſand and fourteen miles long; through which if the earth ſhould paſs at the diſtance of one hundred thouſand miles from the *nucleus*, or main body of the comet, it muſt in its paſſage be ſet on fire, and reduced to aſhes. That the ſun, daily ſpending its rays without any nutriment to ſupply them,

them, will at laſt be wholly conſumed and annihilated; which muſt be attended with the deſtruction of this earth and of all the planets that receive their light from it *.

They are ſo perpetually alarmed with the apprehenſions of theſe, and the like impending dangers, that they can neither ſleep quietly in their beds, nor have any reliſh for the common pleaſures or amuſements of life. When they meet an acquaintance in the morning, the firſt queſtion is about the ſun's health, how he looked at his ſetting and riſing, and what hopes they have to avoid the ſtroke of the approaching comet. This converſation they are apt to run into with the ſame temper, that boys diſcover in delighting to hear terrible ſtories of ſpirits and hobgoblins, which they greedily liſten to, and dare not go to bed for fear.

The women of the iſland have abundance of vivacity; they contemn their huſbands, and are exceedingly fond of ſtrangers, whereof there is always a conſiderable number from the continent below attending at court, either upon affairs of the ſeveral towns and corporations, or their own particular occaſions, but are much deſpiſed, becauſe they want the ſame endowments. Among theſe the ladies chuſe their gallants: but the vexation is, that they act with too much eaſe and ſecurity, for the huſband is always ſo rapt in ſpeculation, that the miſtreſs and lover may proceed to the greateſt familiarities before his face, if he be but provided with paper and implements, and without his *flapper* at his ſide.

The wives and daughters lament their confinement to the iſland, although I think it the moſt delicious ſpot of ground in the world; and although they live here in the greateſt plenty and magnifi-

* All theſe were ſuppoſitions of perſons eminent in their time for mathematical knowledge.

cence, and are allowed to do whatever they pleaſe, they long to ſee the world, and take the diverſions of the metropolis, which they are not allowed to do without a particular licence from the King; and this is not eaſy to be obtained, becauſe the people of quality have found, by frequent experience, how hard it is to perſuade their women to return from below. I was told, that a great court-lady, who had ſeveral children, is married to the prime miniſter, the richeſt ſubject in the kingdom, a very graceful perſon, extremely fond of her, and lives in the fineſt palace of the iſland, went down to Lagado on the pretence of health, there hid herſelf for ſeveral months, till the King ſent a warrant to ſearch for her, and ſhe was found in an obſcure eating-houſe all in rags, having pawned her cloaths to maintain an old deformed footman, who beat her every day, and in whoſe company ſhe was taken much againſt her will. And although her huſband received her with all poſſible kindneſs, and without the leaſt reproach, ſhe ſoon after contrived to ſteal down again with all her jewels to the ſame gallant, and hath not been heard of ſince.

This may perhaps paſs with the reader rather for an European or Engliſh ſtory, than for one of a country ſo remote. But he may pleaſe to conſider, that the caprices of womankind are not limited by any climate or nation, and that they are much more uniform than can be eaſily imagined.

In about a month's time, I had made a tolerable proficiency in their language, and was able to anſwer moſt of the King's queſtions, when I had the honour to attend him. His Majeſty diſcovered not the leaſt curioſity to inquire into the laws, government, hiſtory, religion, or manners of the countries where I had been, but confined his queſtions to the ſtate of mathematics, and received the account I gave him with great contempt and indifference,

ference, though often roused by his *flapper* on each side

CHAP. III.

A phænomenon solved by modern philosophy and astronomy. The Laputians great improvements in the latter. The King's method of suppressing insurrections.

I Desired leave of this prince to see the curiosities of the island, which he was graciously pleased to grant, and ordered my tutor to attend me I chiefly wanted to know, to what cause in art or in nature it owed its several motions, whereof I will now give a philosophical account to the reader.

The flying or floating island is exactly circular, its diameter 7837 yards, or about four miles and an half, and consequently contains ten thousand acres. It is three hundred yards thick. The bottom, or under surface, which appears to those who view it from below, is one even regular plate of adamant, shooting up to the height of about two hundred yards. Above it lie the several minerals in their usual order, and over all is a coat of rich mould, ten or twelve feet deep. The declivity of the upper surface, from the circumference to the centre, is the natural cause why all the dews and rains, which fall upon the island, are conveyed in small rivulets towards the middle, where they are emptied into four large basons, each of about half a mile in circuit, and two hundred yards distant from the centre. From these basons the water is continually exhaled by the sun in the day-time, which effectually prevents their overflowing. Besides, as it is in the power of the monarch to raise the island above the

region of clouds and vapours, he can prevent the falling of dews and rains whenever he pleaſes. For the higheſt clouds cannot riſe above two miles, as naturaliſts agree, at leaſt they were never known to do ſo in that country.

At the centre of the iſland there is a chaſm about fifty yards in diameter, from whence the aſtronomers deſcend into a large dome, which is therefore called *flandona gagnole*, or the *aſtronomer's cave*, ſituated at the depth of a hundred yards beneath the upper ſurface of the adamant. In this cave are twenty lamps continually burning, which, from the reflection of the adamant, caſt a ſtrong light into every part. The place is ſtored with great variety of ſextants, quadrants, teleſcopes, aſtrolabes, and other aſtronomical inſtruments. But the greateſt curioſity, upon which the fate of the iſland depends, is a loadſtone of a prodigious ſize, in ſhape reſembling a weaver's ſhuttle. It is in length ſix yards, and in the thickeſt part at leaſt three yards over. This magnet is ſuſtained by a very ſtrong axle of adamant paſſing through its middle, upon which it plays, and is poiſed ſo exactly, that the weakeſt hand can turn it It is hooped round with an hollow cylinder of adamant, four feet deep, as many thick, and twelve yards in diameter, placed horizontally, and ſupported by eight adamantine feet, each ſix yards high, In the middle of the concave ſide there is a groove twelve inches deep, in which the extremities of the axle are lodged, and turned round as there is occaſion.

The ſtone cannot be moved from its place by any force, becauſe the hoop and its feet are one continued piece with that body of adamant, which conſtitutes the bottom of the iſland.

By means of this load-ſtone the iſland is made to riſe and fall, and move from one place to another. For, with reſpect to that part of the earth over which the monarch preſides, the ſtone is endued at one

ne of its ſides with an attractive power, and at the ther with a repulſive. Upon placing the magnet rect, with its attracting end towards the earth, the land deſcends; but when the repelling extremity oints downwards, the iſland mounts directly upards. When the poſition of the ſtone is oblique, he motion of the iſland is ſo too: for in this maget the forces always act in lines parallel to its direction.

By this oblique motion the iſland is conveyed to ifferent parts of the monarch's dominions. To xplain the manner of its progreſs, let *A B* repreent a line drawn croſs the dominions of Balnibarbi, let the line *c d* repreſent the load-ſtone, of hich let *d* be the repelling end, and *c* the attracting nd, the iſland being over *C*; let the ſtone be placd in the poſition *c d*, with its repelling end downards; then the iſland will be driven upwards obquely towards *D*. When it is arrived at *D*, let he ſtone be turned upon its axle, till its attracting nd points towards *E*, and then the iſland will be arried obliquely towards *E*; where, if the ſtone e again turned upon its axle, till it ſtands in he poſition *E F*, with its repelling point downward, he iſland will riſe obliquely towards *F*, where, by irecting the attracting end towards *G*, the iſland ay be carried to *G*, and from *G* to *H*, by turning he ſtone, ſo as to make its repelling extremity point irectly downward. And thus, by changing the ituation of the ſtone as often as there is occaſion, he iſland is made to riſe and fall by turns in an obque direction, and by thoſe alternate riſings and allings (the obliquity being not conſiderable,) is onveyed from one part of the dominions to the ther.

But it muſt be obſerved, that this iſland cannot ove beyond the extent of the dominions below, or can it riſe above the height of four miles. For hich the aſtronomers (who have written large ſyſ-

tems concerning the ſtone,) aſſign the following reaſon: that the magnetic virtue does not extend beyond the diſtance of four miles, and that the mineral, which acts upon the ſtone in the bowels of the earth, and in the ſea about ſix leagues diſtant from the ſhore, is not diffuſed through the whole globe, but terminated with the limits of the King's dominions; and it was eaſy, from the great advantage of ſuch a ſuperior ſituation, for a prince to bring under his obedience, whatever country lay within the attraction of that magnet.

When the ſtone is put parallel to the plane of the horizon, the iſland ſtandeth ſtill; for in that caſe the extremities of it, being at equal diſtance from the earth, act with equal force, the one in drawing downwards, the other in puſhing upwards, and conſequently no motion can enſue.

This load ſtone is under the care of certain aſtronomers, who from time to time give it ſuch poſitions as the monarch directs. They ſpend the greateſt part of their lives in obſerving the celeſtial bodies, which they do by the aſſiſtance of glaſſes far excelling ours in goodneſs. For, although their largeſt teleſcopes do not exceed three feet, they magnify much more than thoſe of an hundred with us, and ſhew the ſtars with greater clearneſs. This advantage hath enabled them to extend their diſcoveries much farther than our aſtronomers in Europe; for they have made a catalogue of ten thouſand fixed ſtars, whereas the largeſt of ours do not contain above one third part of that number. They have likewiſe diſcovered two leſſer ſtars, or ſatellites, which revolve about Mars, whereof the innermoſt is diſtant from the centre of the primary planet, exactly three of his diameters, and the outermoſt five; the former revolves in the ſpace of ten hours, and the latter in twenty-one and an half; ſo that the ſquares of their periodical times are very near in the ſame proportion with the cubes of their diſtance

distance from the centre of Mars, which evidently shews them to be governed by the same law of gravitation, that influences the other heavenly bodies.

They have observed ninety-three different comets, and settled their periods with great exactness. If this be true, (and they affirm it with great confidence,) it is much to be wished, that their observations were made public, whereby the theory of comets, which at present is very lame and defective, might be brought to the same perfection with other parts of astronomy.

The King would be the most absolute prince in the universe, if he could but prevail on a ministry to join with him; but these, having their estates below on the continent, and considering that the office of a favourite hath a very uncertain tenure, would never consent to the enslaving their country.

If any town should engage in rebellion or mutiny, fall into violent factions, or refuse to pay the usual tribute, the King hath two methods of reducing them to obedience. The first and the mildest course is by keeping the island hovering over such a town, and the lands about it, whereby he can deprive them of the benefit of the sun and the rain, and consequently afflict the inhabitants with dearth and diseases. And if the crime deserve it, they are at the same time pelted from above with great stones, against which they have no defence but by creeping into cellars or caves, while the roofs of their houses are beaten to pieces. But if they still continue obstinate, or offer to raise insurrections, he proceeds to the last remedy, by letting the island drop directly upon their heads, which makes an universal destruction both of houses and men. However, this is an extremity to which the prince is seldom driven, neither indeed is he willing to put it in execution, nor dare his ministers advise him to an action, which, as it would render them odious to the people, so it would

would be a great damage to their own eſtates, which lie all below, for the iſland is the King's demeſn.

But there is ſtill indeed a more weighty reaſon, why the kings of this country have been always averſe from executing ſo terrible an action, unleſs upon the utmoſt neceſſity. For if the town, intended to be deſtroyed, ſhould have in it any tall rocks, as it generally falls out in the larger cities, a ſituation probably choſen at firſt with a view to prevent ſuch a cataſtrophe; or if it abound in high ſpires, or pillars of ſtone, a ſudden fall might endanger the bottom or under-ſurface of the iſland, which, although it conſiſt, as I have ſaid, of one intire adamant two hundred yards thick, might happen to crack by too great a ſhock, or burſt by approaching too near the fires from the houſes below, as the backs both of iron and ſtone will often do in our chimnies. Of all this the people are well appri.ed, and underſtand how far to carry their obſtinacy, where their liberty or property is concerned. And the King, when he is higheſt provoked, and moſt determined to preſs a city to rubbiſh, orders the iſland to deſcend with great gentleneſs, out of a pretence of tenderneſs to his people; but indeed for fear of breaking the adamantine bottom; in which caſe it is the opinion of all their philoſophers, that the load-ſtone could no longer hold it up, and the whole maſs would fall to the ground.

By a fundamental law of this realm, neither the King, nor either of his two elder ſons, are permitted to leave the iſland, nor the Queen, till ſhe is paſt child-bearing.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The author leaves Laputa, is conveyed to Balnibarbi, arrives at the metropolis. A description of the metropolis, and the country adjoining. The author hospitably received by a great lord. His conversation with that lord.

ALTHOUGH I cannot say that I was ill-treated in this island, yet I must confess I thought myself too much neglected, not without some degree of contempt. For neither prince nor people appeared to be curious in any part of knowledge, except mathematics and music, wherein I was far their inferior, and upon that account very little regarded.

On the other side, after having seen all the curiosities of the island, I was very desirous to leave it, being heartily weary of those people. They were indeed excellent in two sciences, for which I have great esteem, and wherein I am not unversed, but at the same time so abstracted and involved in speculation, that I never met with such disagreeable companions. I conversed only with women, tradesmen, flappers, and court-pages, during two months of my abode there; by which at last I rendered myself extremely contemptible; yet these were the only people, from whom I could ever receive a reasonable answer.

I had obtained by hard study a good degree of knowledge in their language; I was weary of being confined to an island, where I received so little countenance, and resolved to leave it with the first opportunity.

There was a great lord at court, nearly related to the

the King, and, for that reaſon alone, uſed with reſpect. He was univerſally reckoned the moſt ignorant and ſtupid perſon among them. He had performed many eminent ſervices for the crown, had great natural and acquired parts, adorned with integrity and honour, but ſo ill an ear for muſic, that his detractors reported he had been often known to beat time in the wrong place; neither could his tutors, without extreme difficulty, teach him to demonſtrate the moſt eaſy propoſition in the mathematics. He was pleaſed to ſhew me many marks of favour, often did me the honour of a viſit, deſired to be informed in the affairs of Europe, the laws and cuſtoms, the manners and learning of the ſeveral countries where I had travelled. He liſtened to me with great attention, and made very wiſe obſervations on all I ſpoke. He had two flappers attending him for ſtate, but never made uſe of them, except at court, and in viſits of ceremony, and would always command them to withdraw, when we were alone together.

I entreated this illuſtrious perſon to intercede in my behalf with his Majeſty for leave to depart, which he accordingly did, as he was pleaſed to tell me, with regret: for indeed he had made me ſeveral offers very advantageous, which however I refuſed with expreſſions of the higheſt acknowledgment.

On the 16th of February I took leave of his Majeſty and the court. The King made me a preſent to the value of about two hundred pounds Engliſh, and my protector, his kinſman, as much more, together with a letter of recommendation to a friend of his in Lagado, the metropolis: the iſland being then hovering over a mountain about two miles from it, I was let down from the loweſt gallery, in the ſame manner as I had been taken up.

The continent, as far as it is ſubject to the monarch of the flying iſland, paſſes under the general name

name of Balnibarbi; and the metropolis, as I said before, is called Lagado. I felt some little satisfaction in finding myself on firm ground. I walked to the city without any concern, being clad like one of the natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with them. I soon found out the person's house to whom I was recommended, presented my letter from his friend the grandee in the island, and was received with much kindness. This great lord, whose name was Munodi, ordered me an apartment in his own house, where I continued during my stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable manner.

The next morning after my arrival he took me in his chariot to see the town, which is about half the bigness of London, but the houses very strangely built, and most of them out of repair. The people in the streets walked fast, looked wild, their eyes fixed, and were generally in rags. We passed through one of the town-gates, and went about three miles into the country, where I saw many labourers working with several sorts of tools in the ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about; neither did I observe any expectation either of corn or grass, although the soil appeared to be excellent. I could not forbear admiring at these odd appearances both in town and country; and I made bold to desire my conductor, that he would be pleased to explain to me what could be meant by so many busy heads, hands, and faces, both in the streets and the fields, because I did not discover any good effects they produced; but, on the contrary, I never knew a soil so unhappily cultivated, houses so ill contrived and so ruinous, or a people whose countenances and habit expressed so much misery and want.

This Lord Munodi was a person of the first rank, and had been some years governor of Lagado; but by a cabal of ministers was discharged for insufficiency

inſufficiency. However the King treated him with tenderneſs, as a well-meaning man, but of a low contemptible underſtanding.

When I gave that free cenſure of the country and its inhabitants, he made no further anſwer, than by telling me, that I had not been long enough among them to form a judgement; and that the different nations of the world had different cuſtoms; with other common topics to the ſame purpoſe. But, when we returned to his palace, he aſked me how I liked the building, what abſurdities I obſerved, and what quarrel I had with the dreſs or looks of his domeſtics. This he might ſafely do; becauſe every thing about him was magnificent, regular, and polite. I anſwered, that his Excellency's prudence, quality, and fortune, had exempted him from theſe defects, which folly and beggary had produced in others. He ſaid, if I would go with him to his country-houſe about twenty miles diſtant, where his eſtate lay, there would be more leiſure for this kind of converſation. I told his Excellency, that I was intirely at his diſpoſal; and accordingly we ſet out next morning.

During our journey he made me obſerve the ſeveral methods uſed by farmers in managing their lands; which to me were wholly unaccountable; for except in ſome very few places, I could not diſcover one ear of corn, or blade of graſs. But in three hours travelling, the ſcene was wholly altered; we came into a moſt beautiful country; farmers houſes at ſmall diſtances neatly built, the fields incloſed, containing vineyards, corn-grounds, and meadows. Neither do I remember to have ſeen a more delightful proſpect. His Excellency obſerved my countenance to clear up; he told me with a ſigh, that there his eſtate began, and would continue the ſame, till we ſhould come to his houſe. That his countrymen ridiculed and deſpiſed him for managing his affairs no better, and for ſetting ſo ill an

n example to the kingdom, which however was ollowed by very few, such as were old, and wil- l, and weak like himself.

We came at length to the house, which was in- eed a noble structure, built according to the best ules of ancient architecture. The fountains, gar- ens, walks, avenues, and groves, were all dispos- l with exact judgement and taste. I gave due raises to every thing I saw, whereof his Excellen- y took not the least notice till after supper; when, here being no third companion, he told me with very melancholy air, that he doubted he must row down his houses in town and country to re- build them after the present mode, destroy all his antations, and cast others into such a form as odern usage required, and give the same directions all his tenants, unless he would submit to incur e censure of pride, singularity, affectation, igno- nce, caprice, and perhaps increase his Majesty's displeasure.

That the admiration I appeared to be under, ould cease or diminish, when he had informed e of some particulars, which probably I never ard of at court, the people there being too much ken up in their own speculations to have regard what passed here below.

The sum of his discourse was to this effect: that out forty years ago certain persons went up to puta, either upon business or diversion, and after e months continuance came back with a very le smattering in mathematics, but full of volatile rits acquired in that airy region. That these per- ns upon their return began to dislike the manage- nt of every thing below, and fell into schemes of tting all arts, sciences, languages, and mecha- cs upon a new foot. To this end they procured royal patent for erecting an academy of projectors Lagado; and the humour prevailed so strongly ong the people, that there is not a town of any

conſequence in the kingdom without ſuch an ac
demy. In theſe colleges the profeſſors contri
new rules and methods of agriculture and buildin
and new inſtruments and too's for all trades ar
manufactures, whereby, as they undertake, o
man ſhall do the work of ten, a palace may
built in a week, of materials ſo durable, as to la
for ever without repairing. All the fruits of t
earth ſhall come to maturity at whatever ſeaſon
think fit to chuſe, and increaſe an hundred-fo
more than they do at preſent; with innumerab
other happy propoſals. The only inconvenien
is, that none of theſe projects are yet brought
perfection, and in the mean time the whole cou
try lies miſerably waſte, the houſes in ruins, a
the people without food or cloaths. By all whic
inſtead of being diſcouraged, they are fifty tim
more violently bent upon proſecuting their ſcheme
driven equally on by hope and deſpair; that as f
himſelf, being not of an enterpriſing ſpirit, he w
content to go on in the old forms, to live in t
houſes his anceſtors had built, and act as they d
in every part of life without innovation. Th
ſome few other perſons of quality and gentry h
done the ſame, but were looked on with an eye
contempt and ill-will, as enemies to art, ignoran
and ill commonwealths-men, preferring their ov
eaſe and ſloth before the general improvement
their country.

His Lordſhip added, that he would not by a
further particulars prevent the pleaſure I ſhou
certainly take in viewing the grand academy, wh
ther he was reſolved I ſhould go. He only deſir
me to obſerve a ruined building upon the ſide of
mountain about three miles diſtant, of which l
gave me this account: that he had a very conven
ent mill within half a mile of his houſe, turned b
a current from a large river, and ſufficient for h
own family, as well as a great number of his t
nant

nts. That about seven years ago, a club of these rojectors came to him with proposals to destroy his mill, and build another on the side of that ountain, on the long ridge whereof a long canal ust be cut for a repository of water to be convey- up by pipes and engines to supply the mill, be- use the wind and air upon a height agitated the ater, and thereby made it fitter for motion: and cause the water descending down a declivity would rn the mill with half the current of a river, whose urse is more upon a level. He said, that being en not very well with the court, and pressed by ny of his friends, he complied with the proposal; d, after employing an hundred men for two rs the work miscarried, the projectors went off, ing the blame entirely upon him, railing at him er since, and putting others upon the same expe- ment with equal assurance of success, as well as ual disappointment.

In a few days we came back to town, and his ex- lency, considering the bad character he had in e academy, would not go with me himself, but commended me to a friend of his to bear me com- ny thither. My lord was pleased to represent me a great admirer of projects, and a person of ich curiosity, and easy belief: which indeed was t without truth; for I had myself been a sort of ojector in my younger days.

CHAP. V.

The author permitted to see the grand academy of Lagado. The academy largely described. The art wherein the professors employ themselves *.

THIS academy is not an entire single building but a continuation of several houses on both sides of a street, which growing waste, was purchased and applied to that use.

* However wild the description of the flying island, and the manners and various projects of the philosophers of Lagado, may appear yet it is a real picture embellished with much latent wit and humour. It is a satire upon those astronomers and mathematicians who have so entirely dedicated their time to the planets, that they have been careless of their family and country, and have been chiefly anxious about the œconomy and welfare of the upper world. But if we consider Swift's romance in a serious light, we shall find him of opinion, that those determinations in philosophy, which at present seem to the most knowing men to be perfectly well founded and understood, are in reality unsettled, or uncertain, and may perhaps some ages hence, be as much decried as the axioms of Aristotle are at this day. Sir Isaac Newton and his notions may hereafter be out of fashion. There is a kind of mode in philosophy, as well as in other things: and such modes often change more from the humour and caprice of men, than either from the unreasonable, or the ill-founded conclusions of the philosophy itself. The reasonings of some philosophers have undoubtedly better foundation than those of others: but I am of opinion, (and Swift seems to be in the same way of thinking,) that the most applauded philosophy, hitherto extant, has not fully, clearly, and certainly explained many difficulties in the phænomena of nature. I am induced to believe, that God may have absolutely denied us the perfect knowledge of many points in philosophy, so that we shall never arrive at that perfection, however certain we may suppose ourselves of having attained to it already. Upon the whole, we may say with Tully, *Omnibus fere in rebus, et maxime in physicis, quid non sit citius quam quid sit, dixerim.* Orrery.

This note in general seems to be a testimony of his Lordship's approbation, but it is not easy to discover what in particular is meant by the word *real*, since every picture is a real picture, whether it be copied from nature or fancy; and indeed it is equally difficult to conceive how a picture of any kind can be embellished with that which is hidden.

I was

I was received very kindly by the warden, and went for many days to the academy. Every room hath in it one or more projectors; and I believe I could not be in fewer than five hundred rooms.

The first man I saw was of a meagre aspect, with sooty hands and face, his hair and beard long, ragged and singed in several places. His cloaths, shirt, and skin, were all of the same colour. He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sun-beams out of cucumbers, which were to be put into vials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the air in raw inclement summers. He told me, he did not doubt, that, in eight years more, he should be able to supply the governor's gardens with sun-shine at a reasonable rate; but he complained that his stock was low, and intreated me to give him something as an encouragement to ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear season for cucumbers. I made him a small present, for my lord had furnished me with money on purpose, because he knew their practice of begging from all who go to see them.

I went into another chamber, but was ready to hasten back, being almost overcome with a horrible stink. My conductor pressed me forward, conjuring me in a whisper to give no offence, which would be highly resented, and therefore I durst not so much as stop my nose. The projector of this cell was the most ancient student of the academy; his face and beard were of a pale yellow: his hands and cloaths dawbed over with filth. When I was presented to him he gave me a close embrace, (a compliment I could well have excused). His employment from his first coming into the academy was an operation to reduce human excrement to its original food, by separating the several parts, removing the tincture which it receives from the gall, making the odour exhale, and scumming off the saliva. He had a weekly allowance from the so-

ciety of a veſſel filled with human ordure about the bigneſs of a Briſtol barrel.

I ſaw another at work to calcine ice into gunpowder, who likewiſe ſhewed me a treatiſe he had written concerning the malleability of fire, which he intended to publiſh.

There was a moſt ingenious architect, who had contrived a new method for building houſes by beginning at the roof, and working downwards to the foundation, which he juſtified to me by the like practice of thoſe two prudent inſects the bee and the ſpider.

There was a man born blind, who had ſevera apprentices in his own condition: their employmen was to mix colours for painters, which their maſter taught them to diſtinguiſh by feeling and ſmelling. It was indeed my misfortune to find them a that time not very perfect in their leſſons, and th profeſſor himſelf happened to be generally miſtaker This artiſt is much encouraged and eſteemed by th whole fraternity.

In another apartment I was highly pleaſed with projector, who had found a device of plowing th ground with hogs, to ſave the charges of plough cattle, and labour. The method is this: In a acre of ground you bury at ſix inches diſtance an eight deep, a quantity of acorns, dates, cheſnut and other maſte or vegetables, whereof theſe an mals are fondeſt: then you drive ſix hundred c more of them into the field, where in a few da they will root up the whole ground in ſearch c their food, and make it fit for ſowing, at the ſam time manuring it with their dung; it is true, upo experiment they found the charge and trouble ver great, and they had little or no crop. However, is not to be doubted, that this invention may b capable of great improvement.

I went into another room, where the walls an cieling were all hung round with cobwebs, excep a narro

a narrow paſſage for the artiſt to go in and out. At my entrance he called aloud to me not to diſturb his webs. He lamented the fatal miſtake the world had been ſo long in of uſing ſilk-worms, while we had ſuch plenty of domeſtic inſects, who infinitely excelled the former, becauſe they underſtood how to weave as well as ſpin. And he propoſed farther, that, by employing ſpiders, the charge of dying ſilks ſhould be wholly ſaved; whereof I was fully convinced, when he ſhewed me a vaſt number of flies moſt beautifully coloured, wherewith he fed his ſpiders, aſſuring us, that the webs would take a tincture from them; and, as he had them of all hues, he hoped to fit every body's fancy, as ſoon as he could find proper food for the flies, of certain gums, oils, and other glutinous matter, to give a ſtrength and conſiſtence to the threads.

There was an aſtronomer, who had undertaken to place a ſun-dial upon the great weather-cock on the town houſe, by adjuſting the annual and diurnal motions of the earth and ſun, ſo as to anſwer and coincide with all accidental turnings of the wind.

I was complaining of a ſmall fit of the cholic, upon which my conductor led me into a room where a great phyſician reſided, who was famous for curing that diſeaſe by contrary operations from the ſame inſtrument. He had a large pair of bellows with a long ſlender muzzle of ivory: this he conveyed eight inches up the anus, and, drawing in the wind, he affirmed, he could make the guts as lank as a dried bladder. But when the diſeaſe was more ſtubborn and violent, he let in the muzzle while the bellows were full of wind, which he diſcharged into the body of the patient; then withdrew the inſtrument to repleniſh it, clapping his thumb ſtrongly againſt the orifice of the fundament; and, this being repeated three or four times, the adventitious wind would ruſh out, bringing the noxious

noxious along with it, (like water put into a pump,) and the patient recover. I saw him try both experiments upon a dog, but could not discern any effect from the former. After the latter, the animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a discharge, as was very offensive to me and my companions. The dog died on the spot, and we left the doctor endeavouring to recover him by the same operation.

I visited many other apartments, but shall not trouble my reader with all the curiosities I observed, being studious of brevity.

I had hitherto seen only one side of the academy, the other being appropriated to the advancers of speculative learning, of whom I shall say something when I have mentioned one illustrious person more, who is called among them *the universal artist*. He told us he had been thirty years employing his thoughts for the improvement of human life. He had two large rooms full of wonderful curiosities, and fifty men at work. Some were condensing air into a dry tangible substance by extracting the nitre, and letting the aqueous or fluid particles percolate; others softening marble for pillows and pin-cushions; others petrifying the hoofs of a living horse to preserve them from foundering. The artist himself was at that time busy upon two great designs; the first, to sow land with chaff, wherein he affirmed the true seminal virtue to be contained, as he demonstrated by several experiments, which I was not skilful enough to comprehend. The other was, by a certain composition of gums, minerals, and vegetables, outwardly applied to prevent the growth of wool upon two young lambs; and he hoped in a reasonable time to propagate the breed of naked sheep all over the kingdom.

We crossed a walk to the other part of the academy, where, as I have already said, the projectors in speculative learning resided.

The

The firſt profeſſor I ſaw was in a very large room with forty pupils about him. After ſalutation obſerving me to look earneſtly upon a frame which took up the greateſt part of both the length and breadth of the room, he ſaid perhaps I might wonder to ſee him employed in a project for improving ſpeculative knowledge by practical and mechanical operations. But the world would ſoon be ſenſible of its uſefulneſs; and he flattered himſelf, that a more noble exalted thought never ſprang in any other man's head. Every one knew, how laborious the uſual method is of attaining to arts and ſciences; whereas by his contrivance, the moſt ignorant perſon, at a reaſonable charge, and with a little bodily labour, might write books in philoſophy, poetry, politics, law, mathematics, and theology, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from genius or ſtudy. He then led me to the frame, about the ſides whereof all his pupils ſtood in ranks: It was twenty feet ſquare, placed in the middle of the room. The ſuperficies was compoſed of ſeveral bits of wood about the bigneſs of a dye, but ſome larger than others. They were all linked together by ſlender wires. Theſe bits of wood were covered on every ſquare with paper paſted on them; and on theſe papers were written all the words of their language, in their ſeveral moods, tenſes, and declenſions; but without any order. The profeſſor then deſired me to obſerve; for he was going to ſet his engine at work. The pupils at his command took each of them hold of an iron-handle, whereof there were forty fixed round the edges of the frame; and, giving them a ſudden turn, the whole diſpoſition of the words was intirely changed. He then commanded ſix and thirty of the lads to read the ſeveral lines ſoftly, as they appeared upon the frame; and where they found three or four words together, that might make part of a ſentence, they dictated to the four remaining boys, who were ſcribes.

ſcribes. This work was repeated three or four times, and at every turn, the engine was ſo contrived, that the words ſhifted into new places, as the ſquare bits of wood moved upſide down.

Six hours a day the young ſtudents were employed in this labour, and the profeſſor ſhewed me ſeveral volumes in large folio already collected of broken ſentences, which he intended to piece together, and out of thoſe rich materials to give the world a compleat body of all arts and ſciences; which however might be ſtill improved and much expedited, if the public would raiſe a fund for making and employing five hundred ſuch frames in Lagado, and oblige the managers to contribute in common their ſeveral collections.

He aſſured me, that this invention had employed all his thoughts from his youth: that he had emptied the whole vocabulary into his frame, and made the ſtricteſt computation of the general proportion there is in books between the numbers of particles, nouns, and verbs, and other parts of ſpeech *.

I made my humbleſt acknowledgment to this illuſtrious perſon for his great communicativeneſs; and promiſed, if ever I had the good fortune to return to my native country, that I would do him juſtice, as the ſole inventor of this wonderful machine; the form and contrivance of which I deſired leave to delineate upon paper, as in the figure here annexed. I told him, although it were the cuſtom of our learned in Europe to ſteal inventions from each other, who had thereby at leaſt this advantage, that it became a controverſy which was the right

* The project for a more eaſy and expeditious method of writing a treatiſe in any ſcience, by a wooden engine, is entertainingly ſatirical, and is aimed at thoſe authors who, inſtead of conceiving materials from their own thoughts and obſervations, collect from dictionaries and common place books, an irregular variety, without order, uſe, or deſign:

"Ut nec pes nec caput uni
"Reddatur formæ. *Orrery.*

owner;

owner; yet I would take such caution, that he should have the honour entire without a rival.

We next went to the school of languages, where three professors sat in consultation upon improving that of their own country.

The first project was to shorten discourse by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles; because in reality all things imaginable are but nouns *.

The other project was a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever; and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health, as well as brevity. For it is plain, that every word we speak, is in some degree a diminution of our lungs by corrosion; and consequently contributes to the shortening of our lives. An expedient was therefore offered, that, since words are only names for things, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them such things as were necessary to express the particular business they are to discourse on. And this invention would certainly have taken place, to the great ease as well as health of the subject, if the women, in conjunction with the vulgar and illiterate, had not threatened to raise a rebellion, unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues, after the manner of their forefathers; such constant irreconcileable enemies to science are the common people. However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by things, which hath only this inconvenience attending it, that if a man's business be very great and of various kinds, he must be obliged in proportion to carry a greater

* This project is pointed at the pernicious custom of contracting the English language, the dialect of which is naturally harsh, and that harshness is still increased by improper contractions. As Swift was scrupulously exact in the pronunciation of his own tongue, not the least improper expression over escaped his censure. And I remember to have seen in manuscript a dictionary of hard words, composed by him for the use of his female senate. *Orrery.*

bundle

bundle of things upon his back, unleſs he can afford one or two ſtrong ſervants to attend him. I have often beheld two of thoſe ſages almoſt ſinking under the weight of their packs, like pedlars among us; who, when they met in the ſtreets, would lay down their loads, open their ſacks, and hold converſation for an hour together; then put up their implements, help each other to reſume their burthens, and take their leave.

But for ſhort converſations a man may carry implements in his pockets and under his arms enough to ſupply him; and in his houſe he cannot be at a loſs. Therefore the room, where company meet who practiſe this art, is full of all things ready at hand, requiſite to furniſh matter for this kind of artificial converſe.

Another great advantage propoſed by this invention was, that it would ſerve as an univerſal language to be underſtood in all civilized nations, whoſe goods and utenſils are generally of the ſame kind, or nearly reſembling, ſo that their uſes might eaſily be comprehended. And thus ambaſſadors would be qualified to treat with foreign princes, or miniſters of ſtate, to whoſe tongues they were utter ſtrangers.

I was at the mathematical ſchool, where the maſter taught his pupils after a method ſcarce imaginable to us in Europe. The propoſition and demonſtration were fairly written on a thin wafer, with ink compoſed of a cephalic tincture. This the ſtudent was to ſwallow upon a faſting ſtomach, and for three days following eat nothing but bread and water. As the wafer digeſted, the tincture mounted to his brain, bearing the propoſition along with it. But the ſucceſs hath not hitherto been anſwerable, partly by ſome error in the *quantum* or compoſition, and partly by the perverſeneſs of lads; to whom this bolus is ſo nauſeous, that they generally ſteal aſide and diſcharge it upwards, before it can operate;

operate; neither have they been yet perſuaded to uſe ſo long an abſtinence as the preſcription requires.

CHAP. VI.

A further account of the academy. The author propoſes ſome improvements, which are honourably received *.

IN the ſchool of political projectors I was but ill entertained; the profeſſors appearing in my judgement wholly out of their ſenſes; which is a ſcene that never fails to make me melancholy. Theſe unhappy people were propoſing ſchemes for perſuading monarchs to chuſe favourites upon the ſcore of their wiſdom, capacity, and virtue; of teaching miniſters to conſult the public good; of rewarding merit, great abilities, and eminent ſervices: of inſtructing princes to know their true intereſt, by placing it on the ſame foundation with that of their people; of chuſing for employments perſons qualified to exerciſe them; with many other wild impoſſible chimæras, that never entered before into the heart of man to conceive; and

* This chapter is full of ſeverity and ſatire. Sometimes it is exerted againſt the legiſlative power; ſometimes againſt particular politicians; ſometimes againſt women: and ſometimes it degenerates into filth. True humour ought to be kept up with decency and dignity, or it loſes every tincture of entertainment. Deſcriptions that ſhock our delicacy, cannot have the leaſt good effect upon our minds. They offend us, and we fly precipitately from the ſight. We cannot ſtay long enough to examine, whether wit, ſenſe, or morality, may be couched under ſuch odious appearances. I am ſorry to ſay, that theſe ſort of deſcriptions, which are too often interſperſed throughout all Swift's works, are ſeldom written with any other view, or from any other motive, than a wild unbridled indulgence of his own humour and diſpoſition. *Orrery.*

confirmed in me the old obſervation, that there is nothing ſo extravagant and irrational, which ſome philoſophers have not maintained for truth.

But however I ſhall ſo far do juſtice to this part of the academy, as to acknowledge that all of them were not ſo viſionary. There was a moſt ingenious doctor, who ſeemed to be perfectly verſed in the whole nature and ſyſtem of government. This illuſtrious perſon had very uſefully employed his ſtudies in finding out effectual remedies for all diſeaſes and corruptions, to which the ſeveral kinds of public adminiſtration are ſubject by the vices or infirmities of thoſe who govern, as well as by the licentiouſneſs of thoſe who are to obey. For inſtance, whereas all writers and reaſoners have agreed, that there is a ſtrict univerſal reſemblance between the natural and the political body; can there be anything more evident, than that the health of both muſt be preſerved, and the diſeaſes cured by the ſame preſcriptions? It is allowed, that ſenates and great councils are often troubled with redundant, ebullient, and other peccant humours; with many diſeaſes of the head, and more of the heart; with ſtrong convulſions, with grievous contractions of the nerves and ſinews in both hands, but eſpecially the right; with ſpleen, flatus, vertigos, and deliriums; with ſcrophulous tumours full of fœtid purulent matter; with ſour frothy ructations; with canine appetites, and crudeneſs of digeſtion, beſide many others needleſs to mention. This doctor therefore propoſed, that, upon the meeting of a ſenate, certain phyſicians ſhould attend at the three firſt days of their ſitting, and at the cloſe of each day's debate feel the pulſes of every ſenator; after which, having maturely conſidered and conſulted upon the nature of the ſeveral maladies and the methods of cure, they ſhould on the fourth day return to the ſenate-houſe, attended by their apothecaries ſtored with proper medicines; and, before

he members ſat, adminiſter to each of them leni-
ives, aperitives, abſterſives, corroſives, reſtrin-
gents, palliatives, laxatives, cephalalgics, icterics,
apophlegmatics, acouſtics, as their ſeveral caſes re-
quired; and, according as theſe medicines ſhould
operate, repeat, alter, or omit them at the next
meeting.

This project could not be of any great expence
o the public; and might, in my poor opinion, be
of much uſe for the diſpatch of buſineſs in thoſe
countries, where ſenates have any ſhare in the le-
giſlative power; beget unanimity, ſhorten debates,
open a few mouths which are now cloſed, and cloſe
many more which are now open; curb the petu-
ancy of the young, and correct the poſitiveneſs of
he old; rouze the ſtupid, and damp the pert.

Again; becauſe it is a general complaint, that
he favourites of princes are troubled with ſhort
nd weak memories; the ſame doctor propoſed,
hat whoever attended a firſt miniſter, after having
old his buſineſs with the utmoſt brevity and in the
plaineſt words, ſhould at his departure give the ſaid
miniſter a tweak by the noſe, or a kick in the bel-
y, or tread on his corns, or lug him thrice by
oth ears, or run a pin into his breach, or pinch
is arm black and blue, to prevent forgetfulneſs:
nd at every levee day repeat the ſame operation,
ill the buſineſs were done or abſolutely refuſed.

He likewiſe directed, that every ſenator in the
reat council of a nation, after he had delivered
is opinion, and argued in the defence of it, ſhould
e obliged to give his vote directly contrary: be-
auſe, if that were done, the reſult would infallibly
erminate in the good of the public.

When parties in a ſtate are violent, he offer-
d a wonderful contrivance to reconcile them. The
ethod is this: you take an hundred leaders of
ach party; you diſpoſe them into couples of ſuch,
hoſe heads are neareſt of a ſize; then let two nice

operators saw off the *occiput* of each couple at the same time in such a manner, that the brain may be equally divided. Let the *occiputs* thus cut off be interchanged, applying each to the head of his opposite party-man. It seems indeed to be a work that requireth some exactness, but the professor assured us, that, if it were dextrously performed, the cure would be infallible. For he argued thus; that the two half brains, being left to debate the matter between themselves within the space of one skull, would soon come to a good understanding, and produce that moderation, as well as regularity of thinking, so much to be wished for in the heads of those, who imagine they come into the world only to watch and govern its motion: and, as to the difference of brains in quantity or quality, among those who are directors in faction, the doctor assured us from his own knowledge, that it was a perfect trifle.

I heard a very warm debate between two professors, about the most commodious and effectual ways and means of raising money without grieving the subject. The first affirmed, the justest method would be to lay a certain tax upon vices and folly; and the sum, fixed upon every man, to be rated after the fairest manner by a jury of his neighbours. The second was of an opinion directly contrary; to tax those qualities of body and mind, for which men chiefly value themselves! the rate to be more or less according to the degrees of excelling; the decision whereof should be left entirely to their own breast. The highest tax was upon men, who are the greatest favourites of the other sex, and the assessments according to the number and natures of the favours they have received; for which they are allowed to be their own vouchers. Wit, valour, and politeness, were likewise proposed to be largely taxed, and collected in the same manner, by every person's giving his own word for the *quantum*

of what he poſſeſſed. But as to honour, juſtice, wiſdom, and learning, they ſhould not be taxed at all; becauſe they are qualifications of ſo ſingular a kind, that no man will either allow them in his neighbour, or value them in himſelf.

The women were propoſed to be taxed according to their beauty and ſkill in dreſſing; wherein they had the ſame privilege with the men, to be determined by their own judgement. But conſtancy, chaſtity, good ſenſe, and good nature, were not rated, becauſe they would not bear the charge of collecting.

To keep ſenators in the intereſt of the crown, it was propoſed, that the members ſhould raffle for employments; every man firſt taking an oath, and giving ſecurity, that he would vote for the court, whether he won or no; after which the loſers had in their turn the liberty of raffling upon the next vacancy. Thus hope and expectation would be kept alive; none would complain of broken promiſes, but impute their diſappointments wholly to fortune, whoſe ſhoulders are broader and ſtronger than thoſe of a miniſtry.

Another profeſſor ſhewed me a large paper of inſtructions for diſcovering plots and conſpiracies againſt the government. He adviſed great ſtateſmen to examine into the diet of all ſuſpected perſons; their times of eating; upon which ſide they lay in bed; with which hand they wiped their poſteriors; to take a ſtrict view of their excrements, and, from the colour, the odour, the taſte, the conſiſtence, the crudeneſs, or maturity of digeſtion, form a judgement of their thoughts and deſigns. Becauſe men are never ſo ſerious, thoughtful, and intent, as when they are at ſtool, which he found by frequent experiment: for in ſuch conjunctures, when he uſed merely as a trial to conſider which was the beſt way of murdering the king, his ordure would have a tincture of green; but quite different,

when he thought only of raiſing an inſurrection, or burning the metropolis.

The whole diſcourſe was written with great acuteneſs, containing many obſervations both curious and uſeful for politicians; but, as I conceived, not altogether compleat. This I ventured to tell the author, and offered if he pleaſed to ſupply him with ſome additions. He received my propoſition with more compliance, than is uſual among writers, eſpecially thoſe of the projecting ſpecies; profeſſing he would be glad to receive farther information.

I told him, that in the kingdom of Tribnia, by the natives called *Langdon*, where I had ſojourned ſome time in my travels, the bulk of the people conſiſt in a manner wholly of diſcoverers, witneſſes, informers, accuſers, proſecutors, evidences, ſwearers, together with their ſeveral ſubſervient and ſubaltern inſtruments, all under the colours, the conduct, and pay of miniſters of ſtate and their deputies. The plots in that kingdom are uſually the workmanſhip of thoſe perſons who deſire to raiſe their own characters of profound politicians; to reſtore new vigour to a crazy adminiſtration; to ſtifle or divert general diſcontents; to fill their coffers with forfeitures; and raiſe or ſink the opinion of public credit, as either ſhall beſt anſwer their private advantage. It is firſt agreed, and ſettled among them, what ſuſpected perſons ſhall be accuſed of a plot: then, effectual care is taken to ſecure all their letters and papers, and put the owners in chains. Theſe papers are delivered to a ſet of artiſts, very dexterous in finding out the myſterious meanings of words, ſyllables, and letters; for inſtance, they can diſcover a cloſe-ſtool to ſignify a privy-council; a flock of geeſe, a ſenate; a lame dog *, an invader; the plague, a ſtanding army;

* See the proceedings againſt Dr. Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter. State-Trials, vol. vi.

a buzzard,

buzzard, a prime minister; the gout, a high rieſt; a gibbet, a ſecretary of ſtate; a chamber-ot, a committee of grandees; a ſieve, a court-idy; a broom, a revolution; a mouſe-trap, an mployment; a bottomleſs pit, a treaſury; a ſink, court; a cap and bells, a favourite; a broken eed, a court of juſtice; an empty tun, a general; running ſore, the adminiſtration.

When this method fails, they have two others nore effectual, which the learned among them call *croſtics* and *anagrams*. Firſt, they can decypher ll initial letters into political meanings. Thus, *N* hall ſignify a plot, *B*, a regiment of horſe, *L*, a eet at ſea: or, Secondly, by tranſpoſing the let-rs of the alphabet in any ſuſpected paper, they an lay open the deepeſt deſigns of a diſcontented arty. So for example, if I ſhould ſay in a letter o a friend, *Our brother Tom has juſt got the piles*, a kilful decypherer would diſcover, that the ſame etters, which compoſe that ſentence, may be ana-yſed into the following words, *Reſiſt*,———*a plot s brought home*——*The Tour*. And this is the ana-rammatic method.

The profeſſor made me great acknowledgements or communicating theſe obſervations, and promi-ed to make honourable mention of me in his trea-iſe.

I ſaw nothing in this country, that could invite ne to a longer continuance, and began to think of eturning home to England.

CHAP

CHAP. VII.

*The author leaves Lagado, arrives at Maldonada. No ſhip ready. He takes a ſhort voyage to Glubdubdrib. His reception by the governour *.*

THE continent, of which this kingdom is a part extends itſelf, as I have reaſon to believe, eaſtward to that unknown tract of America weſtward of California, and north to the Pacific Ocean, which is not above a hundred and fifty miles from Lagado; where there is a good port, and much commerce with the great iſland of Luggnagg, ſituated to the north-weſt about 29 degrees north latitude and 140 longitude. This iſland of Luggnagg ſtands ſouth-eaſtward of Japan, about an hundred leagues diſtant. There is a ſtrict alliance between the Japaneſe Emperor and the King of Luggnagg, which affords frequent opportunities of ſailing from one iſland to the other. I determined therefore to direct my courſe this way, in order to my return to Europe. I hired two mules, with a guide, to ſhew me the way, and carry my ſmall baggage. I took leave of my noble protector, who had ſhewn me ſo

* Gulliver ſeems to have finiſhed his voyage to Laputa in a careleſs hurrying manner; which makes me almoſt think, that ſometime he was tired with his work, and attempted to run through it as faſt as he could, otherwiſe why was the curtain dropt ſo ſoon, or why were we deprived of ſo noble a ſcene as might have been diſcovered in the iſland of Glubdubdrib, where the governour, by his ſkill in necromancy, had the power of calling whom he pleaſed from the dead. I have not time by this poſt to write to you my thoughts upon a ſubject, which I confeſs awakened, but by no means ſatisfied my curioſity. I lamented to find ſo many illuſtrious ghoſts vaniſh ſo quickly and ſo abruptly from my ſight, many of whom were of the brighteſt characters in hiſtory. In my next letter I ſhall endeavour to detain them a little longer in Leiceſter fields, than Swift ſuffered them to ſtay in the iſland of Sorcerers. *Orrery.*

much

much favour, and made me a generous present at my departure.

My journey was without any accident or adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the port of Maldonada (for so it is called) there was no ship in the harbour bound for Luggnagg, nor like to be in some time. The town is about as large as Portsmouth. I soon fell into some acquaintance, and was very hospitably received. A gentleman of distinction said to me, that since the ships bound for Luggnagg could not be ready in less than a month, it might be no disagreeable amusement for me to take a trip to the little island of Glubbdubdrib, about five leagues off to the south-west. He offered himself and a friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient barque for the voyage.

Glubbdubdrib, as nearly as I can interpret the word, signifies the island of Sorcerers or Magicians. It is about one third as large as the Isle of Wight, and extremely fruitful: it is governed by the head of a certain tribe, who are all magicians. This tribe marries only among each other, and the eldest in succession is prince or governor. He hath a noble palace, and a park of about three thousand acres, surrounded by a wall of hewn stone twenty feet high. In this park are several small inclosures for cattle, corn, and gardening.

The governor and his family are served and attended by domestics of a kind somewhat unusual. By his skill in necromancy, he hath a power of calling whom he pleaseth from the dead, and commanding their service for twenty-four hours, but no longer; nor can he call the same persons up again in less than three months, except upon very extraordinary occasions.

When we arrived at the island, which was about eleven in the morning, one of the gentlemen, who accompanied me, went to the governor, and desired

fired admittance for a ſtranger, who came on purpoſe to have the honour of attending on his highneſs. This was immediatly granted, and we all three entered the gate of the palace, between two rows of guards armed and dreſſed after a very antic manner, and ſomething in their countenances that made my fleſh creep with a horror I cannot expreſs. We paſſed through ſeveral apartments between ſervants of the ſame ſort ranked on each ſide, as before, till we came to the chamber of preſence, where, after three profound obeyſances, and a few general queſtions, we were permitted to ſit on three ſtools near the loweſt ſtep of his highneſs's throne. He underſtood the language of Balnibarbi, although it were different from that of this iſland. He deſired me to give him ſome account of my travels; and, to let me ſee that I ſhould be treated without ceremony; he diſmiſſed all his attendants with a turn of his finger at which, to my great aſtoniſhment, they vaniſhed in an inſtant, like viſions in a dream, when we awake on a ſudden. I could not recover myſelf in ſome time, till the governor aſſured me, that I ſhould receive no hurt; and obſerving my two companions to be under no concern, who had been often entertained in the ſame manner, I began to take courage, and related to his highneſs a ſhort hiſtory of my ſeveral adventures: yet not without ſome heſitation. and frequently looking behind me to the place, where I had ſeen thoſe domeſtic ſpectres. I had the honour to dine with the governor, where a new ſet of ghoſts ſerved up the meat, and waited at table. I now obſerved myſelf to be leſs terrified than I had been in the morning. I ſtayed till ſun-ſet, but humbly deſired his highneſs to excuſe me for not accepting his invitation of lodging in the palace. My two friends and I lay at a private houſe in the town adjoining, which is the capital of this little iſland; and the next morning we returned to pay

our

ur duty to the governor, as he was pleaſed to ommand us.

After this manner we continued in the iſland for n days, moſt part of every day with the governor, nd at night in our lodging. I ſoon grew ſo famiariſed to the ſight of ſpirits, that after the third or ourth time they gave me no emotion at all: or if had any apprehenſions left, my curioſity prevailed ver them. For his highneſs the governor order-l me to call up whatever perſons I would chuſe to ame, and in whatever numbers, among all the ead, from the beginning of the world to the pre-nt time, and command them to anſwer any queions I ſhould think fit to aſk; with this conditi-n, that my queſtions muſt be confined within the ompaſs of the times they lived in. And one thing might depend upon, that they would certainly ell me truth, for lying was a talent of no uſe in he lower world. I made my humble acknowdgments to his highneſs for ſo great a favour *. We were in a chamber, from whence there was a air proſpect in the park. And, becauſe my firſt nclination was to be entertained with ſcenes of omp and magnificence, I deſired to ſee Alexander he Great at the head of his army, juſt after the attle of Arbela, which, upon a motion of the goernor's finger, immediately appeared in a large eld under the window, where we ſtood. Alexnder was called up into the room: it was with reat difficulty that I underſtood his Greek, and

* I believe it would be impoſſible to find out the deſign of Dr. wift, in ſummoning, up a parcel of apparitions, that, from their ehaviour, or from any thing they ſay, are almoſt of as little conſeuence as the ghoſts in Gay's farce of the *What d'ye call it*. Perps Swift's general deſign might be to arraign the conduct of emient perſons after their death, and to convey their names and imaes to poſterity deprived of thoſe falſe colours in which they formerly appeared. If theſe were his intentions, he has miſſed his aim; r at leaſt has been ſo far carried away by his diſpoſition to raillery, hat the moral which ought to ariſe from ſuch a fable is buried in bſcurity. *Orrery.*

had

had but little of my own. He assured me upon his honour, that he was not poisoned, but died of a fever by excessive drinking †.

Next I saw Hannibal passing the Alps, who

† The first airy substance introduced is Alexander the Great. After a hint from Gulliver, that we have lost the true Greek idiom the conqueror of the universe is made to declare upon his honour "that he died by excessive drinking, not by poison." A trifling and an improper observation, because the apparition is called up as he appeared at the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela. I own my expectations were great, when I found his appearance was to be at that particular juncture. Or rather I could have wished to have seen him after the battle of *ISSUS*, when the temperate use which he made of his victory, was highly worthy of imitation. Such a circumstance might have graced his triumph. There are others too in the historical records of him, that redound to his honour. The tender regard which he shewed to Pindar, by sparing the house of that poet, when he razed the city of Thebes, seems to demand perpetual gratitude from all succeeding bards. The manner in which he visited the tomb of Achilles; the affection and respect paid by him to Aristotle; the undaunted confidence placed in his physician Philip, are instances sufficient to shew, that Alexander did not want some virtues of humanity. And when we consider several of his rash actions of inebriety, they convince us how far the native excellencies of the mind may be debased and changed by passions which too often attend success and luxury,

Ut, unque defecere mores
Dedecorant bene nata culpæ.

It is evident, that Swift had conceived an absolute disgust to Alexander, whose character he aims to destroy, by touching it in so slight a manner, that he puts me in mind of the visit paid by Augustus Cæsar to Alexander's sepulchre at Alexandria. Upon the Emperor's arrival, the body of the Macedonian hero was found in its full dimensions, but so tender, notwithstanding all the former embalming, that Cæsar, by touching only the nose of it, defaced the whole figure immediately. *Orrery*

In this passage there is a peculiar beauty, though it is not discovered at an hasty view. The appearance of Alexander with a victorious army immediately after the battle of Arbela, produces only a declaration that he died by drunkenness; thus inadequate and ridiculous in the eye of reason is the ultimate purpose for which Alexander with his army marched into a remote country, subverted a mighty empire, and deluged a nation with blood; he gained no more than an epithet to his name, which after a few repetitions was no longer regarded even by himself: thus the purpose of his resurrection appears to be at least equally important with that of his life, upon which it is a satire not more bitter than just.

told

old me, he had not a drop of vinegar in his amp *.

I saw Cæsar and Pompey at the head of their roops just ready to engage. I saw the former in is last great triumph. I desired, that the senate f Rome might appear before me in one large cham-er, and a modern representative in another. The rst seemed to be an assembly of heroes and demi-ods, the other a knot of pedlars, pick-pockets, igwaymen, and bullies.

The governor, at my request, gave the sign for æsar and Brutus to advance towards us. I was ruck with a profound veneration at the sight of

* Hannibal seems to have been summoned with no other view an to censure Livy the historian. It is not only improbable, but possible, that Hannibal should have carried a sufficient quantity of inegar for the purpose related by Livy; but as vinegar will certainly ten and dissolve stones, the experiment might have been improved so contrived by Hannibal, as to appear to make an easy and expe-dious opening through some particular passage already fitted for the rpose. Such a trial, practised in that age of darkness, and pro-ly managed, might have been universally received as a kind of racle; so that Livy could scarce have avoided inserting the report a an acknowledged truth: especially as the fact itself seems to in-f that the Romans were invincible, unless from some supernatural ose. Swift, no friend to military men, thinks the Carthaginian neral unworthy of any further notice; and hastens to call up the ate of Rome. This gives him an opportunity of being very se-re upon a certain modern assembly, which he treats in a manner re resembling the Cynic in his cell, than the free-humoured Ra-ais in his easy chair. *Orrery.*

Livy the Roman historian has related that Hannibal burnt a great p of wood upon a rock that stopped his passage, and when it was th heated poured *vinegar* upon it, by which it was made so soft as to e easily cut through.

Gulliver's account of his entertainment at Glubbdubdrib is strange-nd whimsically diverting. Alexander the Great, at the hea of h army just after the battle of Arbela, assured Gulliver upon his h our, that he was not poisoned, but died of a fever by excessive d king. And afterwards Hannibal passing the Alps, declared to h , that he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp. How ridicu-lo , how contemptible, are these plagues of the world, these de-st yers of the human race, when stripped of their royalty and com-m d, as well as their ability to perpetrate any further mischief?

———*Mors sola fatetur*
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula. Juv. at. 10.

Brutus, and could eaſily diſcover the moſt conſummate virtue, the greateſt intrepidity and firmneſs of mind, the trueſt love of his country, and general benvolence for mankind, in every lineament of his countenance. I obſerved with much pleaſure, that theſe two perſons were in good intelligence with each other; and Cæſar freely confeſſed to me, that the greateſt actions of his own life were not equal by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away. I had the honour to have much converſation with Brutus; and was told that his anceſtor Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the younger, Sir Thomas More, and himſelf, were perpetually together, a *ſextumvirate* to which all the ages of the world cannot add a ſeventh*.

* Pompey and Cæſar only appear to grace the entry of Brutus; who is Swift's favourite patriot. But as Cæſar generouſly confeſſes to Gulliver, "that the greateſt actions of his life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away;" it would have been a proper alleviation of the Dictator's crimes, to have acknowledged him the greateſt ſtateſman, orator, and ſoldier of the age in which he lived; an age fertile of eminent men; an age when ambition was ſcarce looked upon as a crime; and when the Roman virtue (once the ſupport and preſervation of the common-wealth) was long ſince loſt in vice and luxury. At ſuch a time a ſingle maſter was become neceſſary; and Pompey would have ſeized the reins of government had not Cæſar interpoſed. If the conſpirators had reſtored liberty to their country, their act had been completely glorious, and would have ſhewed, that Cæſar, not Rome, was degenerated. But if we may judge from the conſequences, Heaven diſapproved of the deed. A particular fate attended the conſpirators, not one of whom died a natural death. And even Brutus, perhaps recollecting in his laſt moments the benefits which he had received from Cæſar was ſtaggered in his thoughts of virtue, and imagining himſelf deceived by a ſhadow, broke out into a pathetical expreſſion ſignifying, "that he had worſhipped virtue as a ſubſtance, and had found it only a ſhadow;" ſo that he ſeems to have wanted that fortitude of mind, which conſtantly attends true virtue to the grave. This defect in the character of Brutus, is not improperly expreſſed in the famous gallery of the Great Duke of Tuſcany, where there is a very fine head of Brutus, begun by Michael Angelo, but left unfiniſhed: under it is engraven upon the copper-plate this diſtich:

Dum BRUTI *effigiem ſculptor de marmore ducit,*
In mentem ſceleris venit, et obſtinuit.

It would be tedious to trouble the reader with relating what vaſt numbers of illuſtrious perſons were called up to gratify that inſatiable deſire I had to ſee the world in every period of antiquity placed before

If Brutus erred, it was from a wrong notion of virtue. The character of Cæſar is perhaps more amiable, but leſs perfect. His faults were great; however, many of them were foils to his virtues. A modern eminent writer has repreſented him as a glutton. He tells us, that when Cæſar went to the public feaſts, he conſtantly took a vomit in the morning, with a deſign to indulge himſelf with greenneſs, and to increaſe his appetite for the enſuing feaſt. The fact is true, but I would willingly believe the inference unjuſt. It is more than probable, that he practiſed this cuſtom by the advice of his phyſicians, who might direct ſuch a regimen, as the moſt certain and immediate preſervation againſt epileptic fits to which the Dictator was often liable. My honoured father, who was excelled by few phyſicians in the theory of phyſic, has often told me, that thoſe kind of convulſionswere of ſuch a nature as generally to come on after eating, and more voilently if the ſtomach was overloaded. Cæſar was ſo careful in obſerving a decent dignity in his behaviour, that he dreaded the ſhame of expoſing publicly this weakneſs in his conſtitution; and therefore guarded againſt it in a prudent manner, which has ſince been conſtrued into a reproach. This ſurmiſe reſts upon the ſtrong foundation, as all authors agree, that he was moſt ſtrictly and remarkably abſtemious.

In his public character, Cæſar appears a ſtrong example, how far the greateſt natural and acquired a compliſhments may loſe their luſtre, when made ſubſervient to falſe glory, and an immoderate thirſt of power; as, on the other hand, the hiſtory of Brutus may inſtruct us, what unhappy effects the rigid exercise of ſuperior virtue, when miſapplied and carried too far, may produce in the moſt ſtedfaſt mind, for the ſoundeſt judgement.

Gulliver has given to Brutus five companions, Junius Brutus, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the cenſor, and Sir Thomas More. Such a ſextumvirate is not eaſily to be increaſed: yet let me hope, that the reflection is too ſeverely critical, when he adds, "that all the ages of the world cannot furniſh out a ſeventh." Every age has produced men of virtue and abilities in the higheſt degree. The race of mankind ſince their firſt creation, have been always the ſame. The greateſt characters have been blended with the greateſt faults. Poets and hiſtorians have ſingled out particular perſons for fame and immortality: they have adorned them with accompliſhments which perhaps thy never poſſeſſed, while other men equally meritorious have been ſilently buried in oblivion, with only the ſelf-conſciouſneſs of deſerving a rank among the compaunions of Brutus in the Elyſian fields.

In this illuſtrious ſextumvirate, Socrates and Sir Thomas More undoubtedly deſerve the pre-eminence. The extravagant virtue of

before me. I chiefly fed mine eyes with beholding the deſtroyers of tyrants and uſurpers, and the reſtorers of liberty to oppreſſed and injured nations

Bu

Junius Brutus is ſhocking to every parent, and every good-natured mind. The important ſervices of the father might juſtly have claimed from the public, the pardon of his ſons: and, when his paternal piety had ſaved their lives, his precepts and example might ſo effectually have reclaimed their errors, as to have made them become uſeful members of the commonwealth. I am fully perſuaded, that if Dr. Swift had been a father, we ſhould not have found the name of Junius Brutus where it is now placed.

In Epaminondas the Theban glory firſt appeared, and died. His own merit, in overcoming the greateſt difficulties, entirely fixed his reputation. A happy concurrence of circumſtances has often given fame to others; but Epaminondas was indebted for his ſuperior character, only to himſelf.

I am in ſome doubt, whether Cato the cenſor can fairly claim a rank among ſo choice a group of ghoſts *. He juſtly indeed condemned the luxury of the Romans, and he puniſhed their vices with an impartial ſeverity. But herein he ſeems to have indulged his own natural temper, rather than to have acted abſolutely from a love of virtue. He was a declared enemy to poetry, painting, and all the polite arts. He was proud, vain, and moroſe. But above all he was ſo extremely avaricious, that Rhadamanthus, in the Archbiſhop of Cambray's dialogues of the dead, after expreſſing ſome regard to his merits, tells him, as he was an uſurer, he could not be admitted into the Elyſian fields; and therefore orders him to keep the gate as porter, in which ſituation he might gratify the cenſoriouſneſs of his diſpoſition, by examining every ghoſt that attempted to come into Elyſium, and by ſhutting the door againſt all thoſe who were not qualified for admittance. Rhadamanthus then gives him money, to pay Charon for ſuch paſſengers who were not able to pay for themſelves; and at the ſame time declares, that he will puniſh him as a robber, if he offers to lend out that money upon uſury. How very different are the ſentiments of Abp. Fenelon, and of Dr. Swift, in their judgement of Cato? The one thinks him unworthy of a place among millions in Elyſium, while the other diſtinguiſhes him among the greateſt men of antiquity. From this diſſenſion of opinions may be traced, perhaps, the particular temper both of the Archbiſhop and of the Dean; and from thence may be deduced the reaſon why the cenſor was eſteemed by the latter, and condemned by the former. *Orrery.*

* "This note of his Lordſhip is an encomium on the judgement "of our author, who knew that Cato the cenſor and Cato the young"er were very different perſons, and for good reaſons preferred the "latter"

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But it is impoſſible to expreſs the ſatisfaction I received in my own mind, after ſuch a manner as to make it a ſuitable entertainment to the reader.

CHAP. VIII.

A further account of Glubbdubdrib. *Ancient and modern hiſtory corrected.*

HAVING a deſire to ſee thoſe ancients, who were moſt renowned for wit and learning, I ſet apart one day on purpoſe. * I propoſed that Homer

The noble author finiſhes his remarks on this ſeventh chapter, by obſerving, that " Gulliver, a ter having taken a tranſient view of ' numberleſs illuſtrious perſons, whom he does not name, cloſes the ' chapter, and gives him an opportunity of finiſhing his letter;" and then addreſſes his ſon thus: " Late, very late, may you become a ' ghoſt! and when one, may you equal one of Swift's ſextumvirate; ' and may his ghoſt (grown leſs cynical and better inſtructed) rejoice ' to admit you into the company, from which he has ſo arbitrarily ' excluded all future generations."

Gulliver has not excluded all future generations from adding to this extumvirate. For he ſpeaks only of the time paſt. What Cato's may appear to bleſs the world, and oppoſe the torrent of corruption, in after ages, God only knows. *Swift.*

* Gulliver, tired of heroes, changes the ſcene in this 8th chapter, and becomes curious to know the ſituation of poets and philoſophers, who, in their turn, have as eagerly contended for fame, as Cæſar did for power, or Brutus for liberty. He deſires that Homer and Ariſtotle may make their appearance at the head of their commentators. " Homer," ſays our traveller, " was the taller and comlier perſon of the two; walked very erect for one of his age, and his ' eyes were the moſt quick and piercing I ever beheld †." It is certain, that Homer has rather gained, than loſt vigour by his years. Twenty-ſix centuries have not unbraced his nerves, or given one wrinkle to his brow. And although Gulliver has beſtowed upon him the additional ornament of fine eyes, yet I am apt to think they

† " All that is meant by Gulliver is, that Homer had the moſt quick and piercing genius of all human race." Swift.

Homer and Ariſtotle might appear at the head of all their commentators; but theſe were ſo numerous, that ſome hundreds were forced to attend in the

have made the figure of this divine old man leſs awful: at leaſt I am glad that he wanted his eye ſight while he lived (ſince it is impoſſible not to conclude from the productions of Homer and Milton, that the *mind's eye* becomes more intenſely diſcerning, when it is not interrupted by external objects. It is an old obſervation, that Homer has nouriſhed more perſons than Sylla, Cæſar, and Auguſtus; and while their pictures have decayed, not a letter of the Iliad has been loſt. The Grecian poet not only preſerves his original form, but breathes freely, and looks beautifully, in other languages; a happier metempſychoſis than Pythagoras ever dreamed of. However, if Homer was abſolutely obliged to wear the different dreſſes which have been given to him, he would ſometimes, I believe, find the motion of his limbs uneaſy and confined; and would prefer his own ſimple attire, even to the birth-day ſuit which our Engliſh bard has given him. The commentators have done leſs honour to Homer, than the tranſlators. Some of thoſe learned pedants have entirely waſted their obſervations upon particles and words; others have run into a minute exactneſs, in comparing the propriety of his images; while others, again, have endeavoured to trace out from the Iliad and Odyſſey, all the rudiments of arts and ſciences. Some there are who dwell on ſuch narrow circumſtances as were neglected by Homer and can only be ſuitable to their own confined genius. They are not able to purſue him in his ſublime flights, and attempt therefore to bring him upon a level with themſelves. Their low mechanical notions remind me of an abſurd problem, propoſed by the famous Monſ. Huet, whether the Iliad might not be written upon vellum in ſo ſmall a hand, that the whole might be contained within a nut-ſhell? This important queſtion is ſaid to have engaged the thoughts and attention of the French court, and gives us a true picture of a laborious, taſteleſs critic, upon Homer. The Dauphin and his train, are for putting the Iliad into a nut-ſhell, when Alexander and his courtiers choſe the richeſt and moſt curious cabinet of Darius, as the only proper repoſitory for Homer's works.

Homer and Ariſtotle were as oppoſite as poſſible in their characters: but Dr. Swift has placed them together, chiefly with a view of ſhewing their commentators in that juſt and ridiculous light in which thoſe ſcholiaſts ought to appear. When an age is bleſſed with the productions of an uncommon genius, ſuch as reſembles Homer, it muſt, in ſome meaſure, be puniſhed by bad imitations and comments; in the ſame manner that you may have obſerved the ſun, by its heat and influence, raiſing vapours, and animating inſects, that infect, and perhaps corrupt the air, in which he ſhines with ſo much luſtre. But when an original admired author, as Ariſtotle, is really erroneous, and deceives with falſe ſpecious principles, what a train of errors muſt ariſe from commentators on ſuch ſubjects, who while they endeavour

the court and outward rooms of the palace. I knew and could diſtinguiſh thoſe two heroes at firſt ſight, not only from the crowd, but from each other. Homer was the taller and comlier perſon of the two, walked very erect for one of his age, and his eyes were the moſt quick and piercing I ever beheld, Ariſtotle ſtooped much and made uſe of a ſtaff. His viſage was meagre, his hair lank and thin, and his voice hollow *. I ſoon diſcovered

deavour to purſue and extend a pleaſing inchanted proſpect, that has no real foundation, deviate into a dark, diſagreeable road of briers and thorns?——It is on this account, that the Dean has introduced Ariſtotle in company with Homer. *Orrery.*

* This deſcription of Ariſtotle is fine, and in a few words, repreſents the true nature of his works. By not having the immortal ſpirit of Homer, he was unable to keep his body erect; and his ſtaff, which feebly ſupported him, like his commentators, made this defect more conſpicuous. He wanted not ſome uſeful qualities: but theſe *real ornaments*, like his hair, were thin and *ungraceful* †. His ſtyle was harſh, and like his voice, had neither force nor harmony. He was without doubt a man of great genius and penetration; but he did infinitely more prejudice than ſervice to real literature. He ſtudied words more than facts; and delivered his philoſophy perplexed with ſuch intricate logical terms, as have laid a foundation for the endleſs ſcholaſtic diſputations which have corrupted and retarded the progreſs of learning. He waged war with all his predeceſſors. He never quotes an author but with a view to refute his opinion. Like the Ottoman emperor, he could not reign in ſafety, till he had firſt deſtroyed his brethren, He was as ambitious in ſcience, as his pupil Alexander was in arms. He aimed to be a deſpotic orginal; and not only to be the prince, but the tyrant of philoſophy. What then can be expected from the commentators of his works, who were devoid of his ingenuity, and poſſeſſed all his intricate follies? Ramus with his covert ignorance, and Scotus and Aquinas, with their ſubdiviſions and imaginary nothings, muſt make a contemptible figure in the Elyſian fields, which are the ſuppoſed manſions of chearfulneſs, truth and candour, and conſequently muſt be a very improper ſituation for that tribe of philoſophers. *Orrery.*

In Gulliver's portrait of Homer, we obſerve all the marks and delineations of quickneſs, genius, and fire, accompanied with an exquiſite power and felicity, in the communication of his ideas, with clearneſs and force, unto the ſouls of his auditors. Swift's portrait of Ariſtotle is equally ſtrong and maſterly. He ſtooped much, ſaith he,

† "In this the noble commentator ſeems to be miſtaken; for it "cannot be believed, that Ariſtotle's *real ornaments*, however few, "were *ungraceful*."

and

covered that both of them were perfect ſtrangers to the reſt of the company, and had never ſeen or heard of them before. And I had a whiſper from a ghoſt, who ſhall be nameleſs, that theſe commentators always kept in the moſt diſtant quarters from their principals in the lower world, through a conſciouſneſs of ſhame and guilt, becauſe they had ſo horribly miſrepreſented the meaning of thoſe authors to poſterity. I introduced Didymus and Euſtathius to Homer, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deſerved, for he ſoon found they wanted a genius to enter into the ſpirit of a poet. But Ariſtotle was out of all patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I preſented them to him, and he aſked them whether the reſt of the tribe were as great dunces as themſelves.

I then deſired the governor to call up Deſcartes and Gaſſendi, with whom I prevailed to explain their ſyſtems to Ariſtotle. This great philoſopher

and made uſe of a ſtaff; that is, he thought, he conſidered, he ruminated, he pondered deeply on the moſt intricate and abſtruſe points relating to the ſciences; and, by the force of reaſoning, which is meant by his ſtaff, he cleared his way through briers and thorns, until he ſtruck into the road which leads to ſcience and philoſophy.—The remaining part of Ariſtotle's portrait, is only the repreſentation of an abſtracted ſcholar, worn away and decayed with years, hard ſtudy, nocturnal lucubrations, and the want of bodily exerciſe.

Some would make Swift treat Ariſtotle with very little reſpect. But, on the contrary, Swift admired Ariſtotle beyond all the philoſophers which had appeared in the world, from the days of Alexander the Great to the moment he was then writing; I had almoſt ſaid, even to the contempt of all others, not excepting Deſcartes, Gaſſendi, and the famous Sir Iſaac Newton.——From a little book of inſtructions which Dr. Swift was pleaſed to draw up for the uſe of a lady, I ſhall, in his own words, give his real opinion of Ariſtotle. "Ariſtotle, the diſciple of Plato, and tutor to Alexander "the Great. His followers were called *Peripatetics*, from a Greek "word which ſignifies *to walk*; becauſe he taught his diſciples *walk-*"*ing*. We have not all his works; and ſome of thoſe which are "imputed to him, are ſuppoſed not genuine. He writ upon *logic*, "or the art of reaſoning; upon *moral* and *natural philoſophy*; upon "*oratory, poetry*, etc. and ſeems to be a perſon of the *moſt compre-*"*henſive genius that ever lived.*" Swift.

freely

freely acknowledged his own miſtakes in natural philoſophy, becauſe he proceeded in many things upon conjecture, as all men muſt do; and he found that Gaſſendi, who had made the doctrine of Epicurus as palatable as he could, and the *vortices* of Deſcartes, were equally to be exploded *. He predicted the ſame fate to *attraction*, whereof the

* I believe you will find, that Ariſtotle is ſtill to be preferred to Epicurus. The former made ſome uſeful experiments and diſcoveries and was engaged in a real purſuit of knowledge, although his manner is much perplexed. The latter was full of vanity and ambition. He was an impoſtor, and only aimed at deceiving. He ſeemed not to believe the principles which he has aſſerted. He committed the government of all things to chance. His natural philoſophy is abſurd. His moral philoſophy wants its proper baſis, the fear of God. M. Bayle one of his warmeſt advocates is of this laſt opinion, where he ſays, *On ne ſcauroit pas dire aſſez de bien de l'honneteté de ſes moeurs, ni aſſez de mal de ſes opinions ſur la religion.* His general maxim, that happineſs conſiſted in pleaſure, was too much unguarded, and muſt lay a foundation of a moſt deſtructive practice: although from his temper and conſtitution, he made his actions ſufficiently pleaſurable to himſelf, and agreeable to the rules of true philoſophy. His fortune exempted him from care and ſolicitude; his valetudinarian habit of body, from intemperance. He paſſed the greateſt part of his time in his garden, where he enjoyed all the elegant amuſements of life. There he ſtudied; there he taught his philoſophy. This particular happy ſituation greatly contributed to that tranquility of mind, and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. He had not however reſolution ſufficient to meet the gradual approaches of death, and wanted that conſtancy which Sir William Temple aſcribes to him: for, in his laſt moments, when he found that his condition was deſperate, he took ſuch large draughts of wine, that he was abſolutely intoxicated, and deprived of his ſenſes; ſo that he died more like a Bacchanal than a philoſopher; to which the epigram alludes.

Hinc ſtygias ebrius houſit aquas.

I ſhould not have ventured into this criticiſm and cenſure upon theſe ancient philoſophers, if my opinion was not in a great meaſure ſupported by Lord Bacon, who as he was certainly the moſt accurate judge of this ſubject, might be perhaps, from that pre-eminence, too ſevere a critic. It muſt be owned, that Epicurus in particular has many followers and admirers among the ancients, and among the moderns. Cicero commends him for cultivating his friendſhips in the moſt exquiſite manner. The book lies open before me, and I will tranſcribe the words. *De qua [amicitia] Epicurus quidem ita dicit, omnium rerum quas ad beate vivendum ſapientia comparaverit, nihil eſſe majus amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil jucundius; neque vero hoc oratione ſolum, ſed multo magis vita, et factis, et moribus, comprobavit.* Diogenes Laertius praiſes his virtue and learning. In the Auguſtan age the great-

the preſent learned are ſuch zealous aſſertors. He ſaid, that new ſyſtems of nature were but new faſhions, which would vary in every age: and even thoſe, who pretend to demonſtrate them from mathematical principles, would flouriſh but a ſhort period of time, and be out of vogue when that was determined.

I have ſpent five days in converſing with many others of the ancient learned. I ſaw moſt of the firſt Roman emperors. I prevailed on the governor to call up Eliogabalus's cooks to dreſs us a dinner, but they could not ſhew us much of their ſkill for want of materials. A *helot* of Ageſilaus made

greateſt names are inſerted among his followers. Cæſar, Atticus, Mecænas, Lucretius, Virgil and Horace, embraced his philoſophy, and gave a luſtre to his ſect and doctrines. Sir William Temple ſays, "that he wonders why ſuch ſharp invectives were ſo generally made againſt Epicurus, by the ages that followed him; eſpecially as his admirable wit, felicity of expreſſion, excellence of nature, ſweetneſs of converſation, temperance of life, and conſtancy of death, made him ſo much beloved by his friends, admired by his ſcholars, and honoured by the Athenians." Sir William Temple imputes this injuſtice "to the envy and malignity of the Stoics, and to ſome groſs pretenders, who aſſumed the denomination of that ſect; who miſtook his favourite principle," [THAT ALL HAPPINESS CONSISTED IN PLEASURE,] "by confining it to ſenſual pleaſure only. To theſe ſucceeded the Chriſtians, who eſteemed his principles of natural philoſophy more oppoſite to thoſe of our religion, than either the Platoniſts, the Peripatetics, or even the Stoics themſelves." This is the opinion, and theſe are almoſt the exact words of the great Sir William Temple.

Swift equally explodes Epicurus, and the more modern philoſophers Deſcartes and Gaſſendi.

Deſcartes was a knight errant in philoſophy, perpetually miſtaking windmills for giants; yet by the ſtrength of a warm imagination, he ſtarted ſome opinions, which probably put Sir Iſaac Newton and others on making many experiments that produced moſt uſeful diſcoveries.

Gaſſendi was eſteemed one of the greateſt ornaments of France. He was a doctor of divinity, and royal profeſſor of mathematics. He was born in Provence in 1592, and died in 1655. With great induſtry he collected whatever related to the perſon and to the philoſophy of Epicurus; the latter of which he has reduced into a complete ſyſtem.

I have now curſorily gone through the characters of ſuch ghoſts, as are nominally ſpecified by Gulliver. I may be wrong either in my account or in my obſervations: and I ſhall rejoice to be confuted by you in any point of learning whatever. *Orrery.*

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us a dish of Spartan broth, but I was not able to get down a second spoonful.

The two gentlemen, who conducted me to the island, were pressed by their private affairs to return in three days, which I employed in seeing some of the modern dead, who had made the greatest figure for two or three hundred years past in our own and other countries of Europe; and having been always a great admirer of old illustrious families, I desired the governour would call up a dozen or two of kings, with their ancestors in order for eight or nine generations. But my disappointment was grievous and unexpected. For, instead of a long train with royal diadems, I saw in one family two fidlers, three spruce courtiers, and an Italian prelate. In another, a barber, an abbot, and two cardinals. I have too great a veneration for crowned heads to dwell any longer on so nice a subject. But as to counts, marquises, dukes, earls, and the like, I was not so scrupulous. And, I confess, it was not without some pleasure, that I found myself able to trace the particular features, by which certain families are distinguished up to their originals. I could plainly discover from whence one family derives a long chin, why a second hath abounded with knaves for two generations, and fools for two more; why a third happened to be crack-brained, and a fourth to be sharpers; whence it came, what Polydore Virgil says of a certain great house, *Nec vir fortis, nec fæmina casta*; how cruelty, falsehood, and cowardice, grew to be characteristics, by which certain families are distinguished as much as by their coats of arms; who first brought the pox into a noble house, which hath lineally descended in scrophulous tumours to their posterity. Neither could I wonder at all this, when I saw such an interruption of lineages by pages, lacqueys, valets, coachmen, gamesters, fidlers, players, captains, and pick-pockets.

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I was chiefly diſguſted with modern hiſtory. For having ſtrictly examined all the perſons of greateſt name in the courts of princes for an hundred years paſt, I found how the world had been miſled by proſtitute writers to aſcribe the greateſt exploits in war to cowards, the wiſeſt counſel to fools, ſincerity to flatterers, Roman virtue to betrayers of their country, piety to atheiſts, chaſtity to Sodomites, truth to informers: how many innocent and excellent perſons had been condemned to death or baniſhment by the practiſing of great miniſters upon the corruption of judges, and the malice of factions: how many villains had been exalted to the higheſt places of truſt, power, dignity, and profit: how great a ſhare in the motions and events of courts, councils, and ſenates, might be challenged by bawds, whores, pimps, paraſites, and buffoons: how low an opinion I had of human wiſdom and integrity, when I was truly informed of the ſprings and motives of great enterprizes and revolutions in the world, and of the contemptible accidents to which they owed their ſucceſs.

Here I diſcovered the roguery and ignorance of thoſe, who pretend to write *anecdotes*, or ſecret hiſtory; who ſend ſo many kings to their graves with a cup of poiſon; will repeat the diſcourſe between a prince and chief miniſter, where no witneſs was by; unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambaſſadors and ſecretaries of ſtate; and have the perpetual misfortune to be miſtaken. Here I diſcovered the true cauſes of many great events that have ſurpriſed the world; how a whore can govern the back-ſtairs, the back-ſtairs a council, and the council a ſenate. A general confeſſed in my preſence, that he got a victory purely by the force of cowardice and ill-conduct: and an admiral, that, for want of proper intelligence, he beat the enemy, to whom he intended to betray the fleet. Three kings proteſted to me, that, in their whole reigns, they never

never did once prefer any perſon of merit, unleſs by miſtake, or treachery of ſome miniſter in whom they confided: neither would they do it if they were to live again; and they ſhewed, with great ſtrength of reaſon, that the royal throne could not be ſupported without corruption, becauſe that poſitive, confident, reſtive temper, which virtue infuſed into a man, was a perpetual clog to public buſineſs.

I had the curioſity to inquire in a particular manner, by what method great numbers had procured to themſelves high titles of honour and prodigious eſtates; and I confined my enquiry to a very modern period, however without grating upon preſent times, becauſe I would be ſure to give no offence even to foreigners; for I hope the reader need not to be told, that I do not in the leaſt intend my own country in what I ſay upon this occaſion. A great number of perſons concerned were called up, and upon a very ſlight examination diſcovered ſuch a ſcene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without ſome ſeriouſneſs. Perjury, oppreſſion, ſubornation, fraud, pandariſm, and the like *infirmities*, were amongſt the moſt excuſable arts they had to mention; and for theſe I gave, as it was reaſonable, great allowance But when ſome confeſſed they owed their greatneſs and wealth to ſodomy, or inceſt; others to the proſtituting of their own wives and daughters; others to the betraying their country or their prince; ſome to poiſoning, more to the perverting of juſtice in order to deſtroy the innocent; I hope I may be pardoned, if theſe diſcoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration, which I am naturally apt to pay to perſons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmoſt reſpect due to their ſublime dignity by us their inferiors.

I had often read of ſome great ſervices done to princes and ſtates, and deſired to ſee the perſons by

whom thoſe ſervices were performed. Upon enquiry I was told, that their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them, whom hiſtory hath repreſented as the vileſt rogues and traitors. As to the reſt, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected looks, and in the meaneſt habit, moſt of them telling me they died in poverty and diſgrace, and the reſt on a ſcaffold or a gibbet.

Among others there was one perſon, whoſe caſe appeared a little ſingular. He had a youth about eighteen years old ſtanding by his ſide. He told me he had for many years been commander of a ſhip; and in the ſea-fight at Actium had the good fortune to break through the enemy's great line of battle, ſink three of their capital ſhips, and take a fourth, which was the ſole cauſe of Anthony's flight, and of the victory that enſued; that the youth ſtanding by him, his only ſon, was killed in the action. He added, that upon the confidence of ſome merit, the war being at an end, he went to Rome, and ſollicited at the court of Auguſtus to be preferred to a greater ſhip, whoſe commander had been killed; but, without any regard to his pretenſions, it was given to a boy, who had never ſeen the ſea, the ſon of Libertina, who waited on one of the Emperor's miſtreſſes. Returning back to his own veſſel, he was charged with neglect of duty, and the ſhip given to a favourite page of Publicola, the vice-admiral; whereupon he retired to a poor farm at a great diſtance from Rome, and there ended his life. I was ſo curious to know the truth of this ſtory, that I deſired Agrippa might be called, who was admiral in that fight. He appeared, and confirmed the whole account, but with much more advantage to the captain, whoſe modeſty had extenuated or concealed a great part of his merit.

I was ſurpriſed to find corruption grown ſo high and ſo quick in that empire, by the force of luxu-

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ry so lately introduced, which made me less wonder at many parallel cases in other countries, where vices of all kinds have reigned so much longer, and where the whole praise, as well as pillage, hath been ingrossed by the chief commander, who perhaps had the least title to either.

As every person called up made exactly the same appearance he had done in the world, it gave me melancholy reflexions to observe, how much the race of human kind was degenerated among us within these hundred years past. How the pox, under all its consequences and denominations, had altered every lineament of an English countenance; shortened the size of bodies, unbraced the nerves, relaxed the sinews and muscles, introduced a sallow complexion, and rendered the flesh loose and rancid.

I descended so low as to desire, that some English yeomen of the old stamp might be summoned to appear; once so famous for the simplicity of their manners, diet, and dress; for justice in their dealings; for their true spirit of liberty; for their valour and love of their country. Neither could I be wholly unmoved, after comparing the living with the dead, when I considered how all those pure native virtues were prostituted for a piece of money by their grand-children, who, in selling their votes, and managing at elections, have acquired every vice and corruption that can possibly be learned in a court.

CHAP. IX.

The author returns to Maldonada. Sails to the kingdom of Luggnagg. The author confined. He is sent for to court. The manner of his admittance. The King's great lenity to his subjects.

THE day of our departure being come, I took leave of his Highness, the governor of Glubdubdribb, and returned with my two companions to Maldonada, where after a fortnight's waiting, a ship was ready to sail for Luggnagg. The two gentlemen, and some others, were so generous and kind as to furnish me with provisions, and see me on board. I was a month in this voyage We had one violent storm, and were under a necessity of steering westward to get into the trade wind, which holds for above sixty leagues. On the 21st of April, 1708, we sailed into the river of Clumegnig, which is a sea-port town at the south-east point of Luggnagg. We cast anchor within a league of the town, and made a signal for a pilot. Two of them came on board in less than half an hour, by whom we were guided between certain shoals and rocks, which are very dangerous in the passage, to a large basin, where a fleet may ride in safety within a cable's length of the town wall.

Some of our sailors, whether out of treachery or inadvertence, had informed the pilots that I was a stranger and a great traveller; whereof these gave notice to a custom-house officer, by whom I was examined very strictly upon my landing. This officer spoke to me in the language of Balnibarbi, which by the force of much commerce is generally understood in that town, especially by seamen, and those

thoſe employed in the cuſtoms. I gave him a ſhort account of ſome particulars, and made my ſtory as plauſible and conſiſtent as I could; but I thought it neceſſary to diſguiſe my country, and call myſelf an Hollander, becauſe my intentions were for Japan, and I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that kingdom. I therefore told the officer, that having been ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Balnibarbi, and caſt on a rock, I was received up into Laputa, or the flying iſland, (of which he had often heard,) and was now endeavouring to get to Japan, from whence I might find a convenience of returning to my own country. The officer ſaid, I muſt be confined till he could receive orders from court, for which he would write immediately, and hoped to receive an anſwer in a fortnight. I was carried to a convenient lodging with a centry placed at the door; however, I had the liberty of a large garden, and was treated with humanity enough, being maintained all the time at the King's charge. I was invited by ſeveral perſons, chiefly out of curioſity, becauſe it was reported that I came from countries very remote, of which they had never heard.

I hired a young man, who came in the ſame ſhip, to be an interpreter: he was a native of Luggnagg but had lived ſome years at Maldonada, and was a perfect maſter of both languages. By his aſſiſtance I was able to hold a converſation with thoſe who came to viſit me; but this conſiſted only of their queſtions and my anſwers.

The diſpatch came from court about the time we expected. It contained a warrant for conducting me and my retinue to Traldragdubh, or Trildrogdrib, for it is pronounced both ways, as near as I can remember, by a party of ten horſe. All my retinue was that poor lad for an interpreter, whom I perſuaded into my ſervice, and at my humble requeſt we had each of us a mule to ride on. A

meſſenger was diſpatched half a day's journey before us to give the King notice of my approach, and to deſire that his Majeſty would pleaſe to appoint a day and hour, when it would be his gracious pleaſure, that I might have the honour to *lick the duſt before his footſtool.* This is the court ſtyle, and I found it to be more than matter of form. For, upon my admittance two days after my arrival, I was commanded to crawl upon my belly, and lick the floor as I advanced; but, on account of my being a ſtranger, care was taken to have it made ſo clean, that the duſt was not offenſive. However, this was a peculiar grace, not allowed to any but perſons of the higheſt rank, when they deſire an admittance. Nay, ſometimes the floor is ſtrewed with duſt on purpoſe, when the perſon to be admitted happens to have powerful enemies at court And I have ſeen a great lord with his mouth ſo crammed, that, when he had crept to the proper diſtance from the throne, he was not able to ſpeak a word. Neither is there any remedy; becauſe it is capital for thoſe who receive an audience, to ſpit or wipe their mouths in his Majeſty's preſence. There is indeed another cuſtom which I cannot altogether approve of; when the king hath a mind to put any of his nobles to death in a gentle, indulgent manner, he commands the floor to be ſtrewed with a certain brown powder of a deadly compoſition, which being licked up infallibly kills him in twenty-four hours. But, in juſtice to this prince's great clemency, and the care he hath of his ſubjects lives, (wherein it were much to be wiſhed, that the monarchs of Europe would imitate him) it muſt be mentioned for his honour, that ſtrict orders are given to have the infected parts of the floor well waſhed after every ſuch execution; which if his domeſtics neglect, they are in danger of incurring his royal diſpleaſure. I myſelf heard him give directions, that one of his pages ſhould be whipt, whoſe

whose turn it was to give notice about washing the floor after an execution, but maliciously had omitted it, by which neglect a young lord of great hopes coming to an audience was unfortunately poisoned, although the King at that time had no design against his life. But this good prince was so gracious as to forgive the poor page his whipping, upon promise that he would do so no more without special orders.

To return from this digression; when I had crept within four yards of the throne, I raised myself gently upon my knees, and then, striking my forehead seven times against the ground, I pronounced the following words, as they had been taught me the night before, *Ickpling gloffthrobb squut ferumm bliiop mlashnalt zwin tnodbalkuffh sliophad gurdlubb asht.* This is the compliment established by the laws of the land for all persons admitted to the King's presence. It may be rendered into English thus: *May your excellential Majesty outlive the sun, eleven moons and a half.* To this the King returned some answer, which although I could not understand, yet I replied as I had been directed: *Flute drin yalerick dwuldom prasirad mirpush*, which properly signifies, *my tongue is in the mouth of my friend*; and by this expression was meant, that I desired leave to bring my interpreter; whereupon the young man already mentioned was accordingly introduced, by whose intervention I answered as many questions as his Majesty could put in above an hour. I spoke in the Balnibarbian tongue, and my interpreter delivered my meaning in that of Laggnagg

The King was much delighted with my company, and ordered his Blissmarklub, or high chamberlain, to appoint a lodging in the court for me and my interpreter, with a daily allowance for my table, and a large purse of gold for my common expences.

I stayed three months in this country out of perfect obedience to his Majesty, who was pleased highly

highly to favour me, and made me very honourable offers. But I thought it more consistent with prudence and justice to pass the remainder of my days with my wife and family.

CHAP. X.

The Luggnuggians commended. A particular description of the Struldbrugs, with many conversations between the author and some eminent persons upon that subject.

THE Luggnuggians are a polite and generous people; and although they are not without some share of that pride, which is peculiar to all eastern countries, yet they shew themselves courteous to strangers, especially such who are countenanced by the court. I had many acquaintance among persons of the best fashion, and being always attended by my interpreter, the conversation we had was not disagreeable.

One day, in much good company, I was asked by a person of quality, whether I had seen any of their Struldbrugs or immortals. I said, I had not; and desired he would explain to me, what he meant by such an appellation applied to a mortal creature. * He told me, that sometimes, though very rarely, a child happened to be born in a family with a red circular

* The description of the Struldbrugs is an instructive piece of morality. For if we consider it in a serious light, it tends to reconcile us to our final dissolution. Death, when set in contrast to the immortality of the Struldbrugs, is no longer the king of terrors: he loses his sting; he appears to us as a friend, and we chearfully obey his summons, because it brings certain relief to the greatest miseries. It is in this description, that Swift shines in a particular manner. He probably felt in himself the effects of approaching age, and tacitly dreaded

circular ſpot in the forehead directly over the left eye-brow, which was an infallible mark, that it ſhould never die. The ſpot, as he deſcribed it, was about the compaſs of a ſilver three pence, but in the courſe of time grew larger, and changed its colour; for at twelve years old it became green, ſo continued till five and twenty, then turned to a deep blue; at five and forty it grew coal black, and as large as an Engliſh ſhilling; but never admitted any farther alteration. He ſaid, theſe births were ſo rare, that he did not believe there could be above eleven hundred Struldbruggs of both ſexes in the whole kingdom, of which he computed about fifty in the metropolis, and among the reſt a young girl born about three years ago: that theſe productions

dreaded that period of life, in which he might become a repreſentative of thoſe miſerable immortals. His apprehenſions were unfortunately fulfilled. He lived to be the moſt melancholy ſight that was ever beheld. Yet, even in that condition, he continued to inſtruct, by appearing a providential inſtance to mortify the vanity which is too apt to ariſe in the human breaſt. Our life cannot be pronounced happy, till the laſt ſcene is cloſed with eaſe and reſignation; the mind ſtill continuing to preſerve its uſual dignity, and falling into the arms of death, as a wearied traveller ſinks into reſt. This is that Euthanaſia which Auguſtus often deſired, which Antoninus Pius enjoyed, and for which every wiſe man will pray. *Orrery.*

Gulliver's account of the Struldbrugs is the fineſt lecture that ever was conceived by any mortal man, to reconcile poor tottering creatures unto a chearful reſignation of this wretched life, and perfectly agreeable to that ſentiment of the inſpired prophet, "The days of "our life are threeſcore years and ten; and though men be ſo ſtrong, "that they live to fourſcore years; yet is their life then but labour "and ſorrow." Theſe diſpenſations of the Almighty, which are frequently the concomitants of old age, Dr. Swift, throughout his whole life, conſtantly apprehended, from ſome peculiar infirmities attending his habit of body, would ſeize upon him at laſt. Theſe Lord Orrery, without any ſort of heſitation, roundly aſſerts to be the avenging judgements of God, as if he had been let into the ſecret by ſome particular revelation. But, inſtead of inſulting the aſhes of ſo bright a genius with the infirmities of his latter days, and comparing him to one of his own Struldbrugs, we ſhould endeavour to inflame our ſouls by catching fire and ſpirit, and patriotiſm from his inimitable writings; and ſilently confeſs the ways of God to be inſcrutable, and his judgements paſt finding out. *Swift.*

were

were not peculiar to any family, but a meer effect of chance; and the children of the Struldbrugs themselves were equally mortal with the rest of the people.

I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible delight upon hearing this account; and the person, who gave it me, happening to understand the Balnibarbian language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear breaking out into expressions perhaps a little too extravagant. I cried out, as in a rapture, Happy nation, where every child hath at least a chance for being immortal! happy people, who enjoy so many living examples of ancient virtue, and have masters ready to instruct them in the wisdom of all former ages! but, happiest beyond all comparison are those excellent Struldbrugs, who being born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature, have their minds free and disengaged, without the weight and depression of spirits caused by the continual apprehension of death. I discovered my admiration, that I had not observed any of these illustrious persons at court; the black spot on the forehead being so remarkable a distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it: and it was impossible that his Majesty, a most judicious prince, should not provide himself with a good number of such wise and able counsellors. Yet perhaps the virtue of those reverend sages was too strict for the corrupt and libertine manners of a court. And we often find by experience, that young men are too opinionative and volatile to be guided by the sober dictates of their seniors. However, since the King was pleased to allow me access to his royal person, I was resolved, upon the very first occasion, to deliver my opinion to him on this matter freely and at large by the help of my interpreter; and whether he would please to take my advice or no, yet in one thing I was determined, that, his Majesty having frequently offered

offered me an eſtabliſhment in this country, I would with great thankfulneſs accept the favour, and paſs my life here in the converſation of thoſe ſuperior beings, the Struldbrugs, if they would pleaſe to admit me.

The gentleman, to whom I addreſſed my diſcourſe, becauſe (as I have already obſerved,) he ſpoke the language of Balnibarbi, ſaid to me with a ſort of a ſmile, which uſually ariſeth from pity to the ignorant, that he was glad of any occaſion to keep me among them, and deſired my permiſſion to explain to the company what I had ſpoke. He did ſo, and they talked together for ſome time in their own language, whereof I underſtood not a ſyllable, neither could I obſerve by their countenances, what impreſſion my diſcourſe had made on them. After a ſhort ſilence the ſame perſon told me, that his friends and mine (ſo he thought fit to expreſs himſelf,) were very much pleaſed with the judicious remarks I had made on the great happineſs and advantages of immortal life, and they were deſirous to know, in a particular manner, what ſcheme of living I ſhould have formed to myſelf, if it had fallen to my lot to have been born a Struldbrug.

I anſwered, it was eaſy to be eloquent on ſo copious and delightful a ſubject, eſpecially to me, who had been often apt to amuſe myſelf with viſions of what I ſhould do, if I were a king, a general, or a great lord: and, upon this very caſe, I had frequently run over the whole ſyſtem how I ſhould employ myſelf, and paſs the time, if I were ſure to live for ever.

That, if it had been my good fortune to come into the world a Struldbrug, as ſoon as I could diſcover my own happineſs by underſtanding the difference between life and death, I would firſt reſolve by all arts and methods whatſoever to procure myſelf riches. In the purſuit of which by thrift and management, I might reaſonably expect in about

about two hundred years to be the wealthieſt man in the kingdom. In the ſecond place, I would from my earlieſt youth apply myſelf to the ſtudy of arts and ſciences, by which I ſhould arrive in time to excel all others in learning. Laſtly, I would carefully record every action and event of conſequence that happened in the public, impartially draw the characters of the ſeveral ſucceſſions of princes and great miniſters of ſtate, with my own obſervations on every point. I would exactly ſet down the ſeveral changes in cuſtoms, language, faſhions of dreſs, diet and diverſions. By all which acquirments I ſhould be a living treaſury of knowledge and wiſdom, and certainly become the oracle of the nation.

I would never marry after threeſcore, but live in an hoſpitable manner, yet ſtill on the ſaving ſide. I would entertain myſelf in forming and directing the minds of hopeful young men, by convincing them from my own remembrance, experience, and obſervation, fortified by numerous examples, of the uſefulneſs of virtue in public and private life. But my choice and conſtant companions ſhould be a ſet of my own immortal brotherhood, among whom I would elect a dozen from the moſt ancient down to my own contemporaries. Where any of theſe wanted fortunes, I would provide them with convenient lodges round my own eſtate, and have ſome of them always at my table, only mingling a few of the moſt valuable among you mortals, whom length of time would harden me to loſe with little or no reluctance, and treat your poſterity after the ſame manner; juſt as a man diverts himſelf with the annual ſucceſſion of pinks and tulips in his garden, without regretting the loſs of thoſe, which withered the preceding year.

Theſe Struldbrugs and I would mutually communicate our obſervations and memorials through the courſe of time, remark the ſeveral gradations by

by which corruption ſteals into the world, and oppoſe it in every ſtep by giving perpetual warning and inſtruction to mankind; which, added to the ſtrong influence of our own example, would probably prevent that continual degeneracy of human nature ſo juſtly complained of in all ages.

Add to all this the pleaſure of ſeeing the various revolutions of ſtates and empires; the changes in the lower and upper world; ancient cities in ruins, and obſcure villages become the ſeats of kings; famous rivers leſſening into ſhallow brooks; the ocean leaving one coaſt dry, and overwhelming another; the diſcovery of many countries yet unknown; barbarity over-running the politeſt nations, and the moſt barbarous become civilized. I ſhould then ſee the diſcovery of the longitude, the perpetual motion, the univerſal medicine, and many other great inventions brought to the utmoſt perfection.

What wonderful diſcoveries ſhould we make in aſtronomy by out-living and confirming our own predictions, by obſerving the progreſs and returns of comets, with the changes of motion in the ſun, moon, and ſtars.

I enlarged upon many other topics, which the natural deſire of endleſs life and ſublunary happineſs could eaſily furniſh me with. When I had ended, and the ſum of my diſcourſe had been interpreted, as before, to the reſt of the company, there was a good deal of talk among them in the language of the country, not without ſome laughter at my expence. At laſt the ſame gentleman, who had been my interpreter, ſaid he was deſired by the reſt to ſet me right in a few miſtakes, which I had fallen into through the common imbecillity of human nature, and upon that allowance was leſs anſwerable for them. That this breed of Struldbrugs was peculiar to their country, for there were no ſuch people either in Balnibarbi, or Japan, where he had the honour to be ambaſſador from his Majeſty,

and found the natives in both thoſe kingdoms very hard to believe, that the fact was poſſible; and it appeared from my aſtoniſhment, when he firſt mentioned the matter to me, that I received it as a thing wholly new, and ſcarcely to be credited. That in the two kingdoms above mentioned, where during his reſidence he had converſed very much, he obſerved long life to be the univerſal deſire and wiſh of mankind. That whoever had one foot in the grave, was ſure to hold back the other as ſtrongly as he could. That the oldeſt had ſtill hopes of living one day longer, and looked on death as the greateſt evil, from which Nature always prompted him to retreat; only in this iſland of Luggnagg the appetite for living was not ſo eager, from the continual example of the Struldbrugs before their eyes.

That the ſyſtem of living contrived by me was unreaſonable and unjuſt; becauſe it ſuppoſed a perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour, which no man could be ſo fooliſh to hope, however extravagant he may be in his wiſhes*. That the queſtion therefore was not, whether a man would chuſe to be always in the prime of youth, attended with proſperity and health; but how he would paſs a perpetual life under all the uſual diſadvantages, which old age brings along with it. For although few men will avow their deſires of being immortal upon ſuch hard conditions, yet in the two kingdoms before mentioned, of Balnibari and Japan, he obſerved that every man deſired to put off death for ſome time longer, let it approach ever ſo late;

* To this it may poſſibly be objected, That the perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour, would be leſs a prodigy than the perpetuity of life in a body ſubject to gradual decay, and might therefore be hoped without greater extravagance of folly. But the ſentiment here expreſſed, is that of a being to whom immortality, though not perpetual youth, was familiar; and in whom the wiſh of perpetual youth only would have been extravagant, becauſe that only appeared from facts to be impoſſible.

and

and he rarely heard of any man who died willingly, except he were incited by the extremity of grief or torture. And he appealed to me, whether, in thoſe countries I had travelled, as well as my own, I had not obſerved the ſame general diſpoſition †.

After this preface he gave me a particular account of the Struldbrugs among them. He ſaid, they commonly acted like mortals, till about thirty years old, after which by degrees they grew melancholy and dejected, encreaſing in both till they came to fourſcore. This he learned from their own confeſſion; for otherwiſe, there not being above two or three of that ſpecies born in an age, they were too few to form a general obſervation by. When they came to fourſcore years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more, which aroſe from the dreadful proſpect of never dying. They were not only opinionative, peeviſh, covetous, moroſe, vain, talkative; but incapable of friendſhip, and dead to all natural affection, which never deſcended below their grand-children. Envy and impotent deſires are their prevailing paſſions. But thoſe objects, againſt which their envy ſeems principally directed, are the vices of the younger ſort, and the deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former they find

† If it be ſaid, that although the folly of deſiring life to be prolonged under the diſadvantages of old age, is here finely expoſed; yet the deſire of terreſtrial immortality upon terms, on which alone, in the nature of things, it is poſſible, an exemption from diſeaſe, accident and decay, is tacitly allowed: It may be anſwered, that as we grow old by imperceptible degrees, ſo for the moſt part we grow old without repining, and every man is ready to profeſs himſelf willing to die, when he ſhall be overtaken by the decrepitude of age in ſome future period; yet when every other eye ſees that period is arrived, he is ſtill tenacious of life, and murmurs at the condition upon which he received his exiſtence. To reconcile old age therefore to the thoughts of a diſſolution, appears to be all that was neceſſary in a moral writer for practical purpoſes.

themſelves cut off from all poſſibility of pleaſure; and whenever they ſee a funeral, they lament and repine that others are gone to an harbour of reſt, to which they themſelves never can hope to arrive. They have no remembrance of any thing, but what they learned and obſerved in their youth and middle age, and even that is very imperfect. And for the truth or particulars of any fact it is ſafer to depend on common tradition, than upon their beſt recollections. The leaſt miſerable among them appear to be thoſe, who turn to dotage, and entirely loſe their memories; theſe meet with more pity and aſſiſtance, becauſe they want many bad qualities which abound in others.

If a Struldbrug happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is diſſolved of courſe by the courteſy of the kingdom, as ſoon as the younger of the two comes to be fourſcore. For the law thinks it a reaſonable indulgence that thoſe, who are condemned without any fault of their own to a perpetual continuance in the world, ſhould not have their miſery doubled by the load of a wife.

As ſoon as they have compleated the term of eighty years, they are looked on as dead in law; their heirs immediately ſucceed to their eſtates, only a ſmall pittance is reſerved for their ſupport; and the poor ones are maintained at the public charge. After that period they are held incapable of any employment of truſt or profit; they cannot purchaſe lands or take leaſes; neither are they allowed to be witneſſes in any cauſe, either civil or criminal, not even for the deciſion of meers and bounds.

At ninety they loſe their teeth and hair; they have at that age no diſtinction of taſte, but eat and drink whatever they can get without reliſh or appetite. The diſeaſes they were ſubject to ſtill continue, without encreaſing or diminiſhing. In talking they forget the common appellation of things, and

and the names of perſons, even of thoſe who are their neareſt friends and relations. For the ſame reaſon they never can amuſe themſelves with reading, becauſe their memory will not ſerve to carry them from the beginning of a ſentence to the end, and by this defect they are deprived of the only entertainment, whereof they might otherwiſe be capable.

The language of this country being always upon the flux, the Struldbrugs of one age do not underſtand thoſe of another; neither are they able after two hundred years to hold any converſation (farther than by a few general words) with their neighbours the mortals; and thus they lie under the diſadvutage of living like foreigners in their own country.

This was the account given me of the Struldbrugs, as near as I can remember. I afterwards ſaw five or ſix of different ages, the youngeſt not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at ſeveral times by ſome of my friends; but although they were told that I was a great traveller and had ſeen all the world, they had not the leaſt curioſity to ask me a queſtion; only deſired I would give them *ſlumſkudaſk*, or a token of remembrance: which is a modeſt way of begging, to avoid the law, that ſtrictly forbids it, becauſe they are provided for by the public, although indeed with a very ſcanty allowance.

They are deſpiſed and hated by all ſorts of people; when one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly; ſo that you may know their age by conſulting the regiſter; which however hath not been kept above a thouſand years paſt, or at leaſt hath been deſtroyed by time or public diſturbances. But the uſual way of computing how old they are, is, by aſking them what kings or great perſons they can remember, and then conſulting hiſtory; for in-

fallibly the laſt prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourſcore years old.

They were the moſt mortifying ſight I ever beheld; and the women more horrible than the men. Beſides the uſual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghaſtlineſs in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be deſcribed; and, among half a dozen, I ſoon diſtinguiſhed which was the eldeſt, although there was not above a century or two between them.

The reader will eaſily believe, that from what I had heard and ſeen, my keen appetite for perpetuity of life was much abated. I grew heartily aſhamed of the pleaſing viſions I had formed; and thought no tyrant could invent a death, into which I could not run with pleaſure from ſuch a life. The king heard of all that had paſſed between me and my friends upon this occaſion, and rallied me very pleaſantly; wiſhing I could ſend a couple of Struldbrugs to my own country to arm our people againſt the fear of death *, but this it ſeems is forbidden by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or elſe I ſhould have been well content with the trouble and expence of tranſporting them.

I could not but agree, that the laws of this kingdom relating to the Struldbrugs were foundedupon the ſtrongeſt reaſons, and ſuch as any other country would be under the neceſſity of enacting in the like circumſtances. Otherwiſe, as avarice is the neceſſary conſequent of old age, thoſe immortals would in time become proprietors of the whole nation, and engroſs the civil power; which, for want of abilities to manage, muſt end in the ruin of the public.

* Perhaps it may not be wholly uſeleſs to remark, that the ſight of a Struldbrug would no otherwiſe arm thoſe againſt the fear of death who have no hope beyond it, than a man is armed againſt the fear of breaking his limbs who jumps out of a window when his houſe is on fire.

CHAP

CHAP. XI.

The author leaves Luggnagg, *and sails to* Japan. *From thence he returns in a* Dutch *ship to* Amsterdam, *and from* Amsterdam *to* England.

I Thought this account of the Struldbrugs might be some entertainment to the reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common way; at least I do not remember to have met the like in any book of travels, that hath come to my hands: and if I am deceived, my excuse must be, that it is necessary * for travellers, who describe the same country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same particulars, without deserving the censure of having borrowed or transcribed from those who wrote before them.

There is indeed a perpetual commerce between this kingdom and the great empire of Japan; and it is very probable, that the Japanese authors may have given some account of the Struldbrugs; but my stay in Japan was so short, and I was so entirely a stranger to the language, that I was not qualified to make any enquiries. But I hope the Dutch upon this notice will be curious and able enough to supply my defects.

His Majesty having often pressed me to accept some employment in his court, and finding me absolutely determined to return to my native country, was pleased to give me his licence to depart, and

* The word *necessary* is here used in the same manner, as when by the idiom of our language it means *convenient*, though it is to be understood in its proper signification. "Travellers who describe the "same country, very often necessarily agree in dwelling on the same "particulars, and therefore *do not deserve* the censure of having bor-"rowed, &c.

honoured me with a letter of recommendation under his own hand to the Emperor of Japan. He likewiſe preſented me with four hundred forty-four large pieces of gold (this nation delighting in even numbers) and a red diamond, which I ſold in England for eleven hundred pounds.

On the 6th day of May 1709, I took a ſolemn leave of his Majeſty and all my friends. This prince was ſo gracious, as to order a guard to conduct me to Glanguenſtald, which is a royal port to the S. W. part of the iſland. In 6 days I found a veſſel ready to carry me to Japan, and ſpent 15 days in the voyage. We landed at a ſmall port-town, called Xamoſchi, ſituated on the S. E. part of Japan; the town lies on the weſtern point, where there is a narrow ſtreight leading northward into a long arm of the ſea, upon the N. W. part of which, Yedo the metropolis ſtands. At landing I ſhewed the cuſtom-houſe officers my letter from the King of Luggnagg to his Imperial Majeſty. They knew the ſeal perfectly well; it was as broad as the palm of my hand. The impreſſion was *A King lifting up a lame beggar from the earth.* The magiſtrates of the town hearing of my letter, received me as a public miniſter; they provided me with carriages and ſervants, and bore my charges to Yedo, where I was admitted to an audience, and delivered my letter, which was opened with great ceremony, and explained to the Emperor by an interpreter, who then gave me notice by his Majeſty's order, that I ſhould ſignify my requeſt, and whatever it were, it ſhould be granted for the ſake of his royal brother of Luggnagg. This interpreter was a perſon employed to tranſact affairs with the Hollanders: he ſoon conjectured by my countenance, that I was an European, and therefore repeated his Majeſty's commands in Low-dutch, which he ſpoke perfectly well. I anſwered (as I had before determined) that I was a Dutch merchant ſhipwrecked in a very remote

mote country, from whence I had travelled by sea and land to Luggnagg, and then took shipping for Japan, where I knew my countrymen often traded, and with some of these I hoped to get an opportunity of returning into Europe: I therefore most humbly intreated his royal favour to give order, that I should be conducted in safety to Nangasac: to this I added another petition, that for the sake of my patron the king of Luggnagg, his Majesty would condescend to excuse my performing the ceremony imposed on my countrymen, of *trampling upon the crucifix*: because I had been thrown into his kingdom by my misfortunes, without any intention of trading. When this latter petition was interpreted to the Emperor, he seemed a little surprized; and said, he believed I was the first of my countrymen, who ever made any scruple in this point; and that he began to doubt, whether I was a real Hollander or no; but rather suspected I must be a christian. However, for the reasons I had offered, but chiefly to gratify the king of Luggnagg, by an uncommon mark of his favour, he would comply with the singularity of my humour; but the affair must be managed with dexterity, and his officers should be commanded to let me pass as it were by forgetfulness, For he assured me, that if the secret should be discovered by my countrymen the Dutch, they would cut my throat in the voyage. I returned my thanks by the interpreter for so unusual a favour; and some troops being at that time on their march to Nangasac, the commanding officer had orders to convey me safe thither, with particular instructions about the business of the crucifix.

On the 9th day of June, 1709, I arrived at Nangasac after a very long and troublesome journey. I soon fell into company of some Dutch sailors belonging to the Amboyna of Amsterdam, a stout ship of 450 tons. I had long lived in Holland, pursuing

fuing my ſtudies at Leyden, and I ſpoke Dutch well. The ſeamen ſoon knew from whence I came laſt; they were curious to enquire into my voyages and courſe of life. I made up a ſtory as ſhort and probable as I could, but concealed the greateſt part. I knew many perſons in Holland; I was able to invent names for my parents, whom I pretended to be obſcure people in the province of Guelderland. I would have given the captain (one Theodorus Vangrult) what he pleaſed to aſk for my voyage to Holland; but underſtanding I was a ſurgeon, he was contented to take half the uſual rate, on condition that I would ſerve him in the way of my calling. Before we took ſhipping, I was often aſked by ſome of the crew, whether I had performed the ceremony above mentioned? I evaded the queſtion by general anſwers, that I had ſatisfied the Emperor and court in all particulars. However, a malicious rogue of a ſkipper went to an officer, and pointing to me, told him, I had not yet *trampled on the crucifix:* but the other, who had received inſtructions to let me paſs, gave the raſcal twenty ſtrokes on the ſhoulders with a bamboo; after which I was no more troubled with ſuch queſtions.

Nothing happened worth mentioning in this voyage. We ſailed with a fair wind to the Cape of Good Hope, where we ſtaid only to take in freſh water. On the 10th of April 1710, we arrived ſafe at Amſterdam, having loſt only three men by ſickneſs in the voyage, and a fourth who fell from the fore-maſt into the ſea, not far from the coaſt of Guiney. From Amſterdam I ſoon after ſet ſail for England in a ſmall veſſel belonging to that city.

On the 16th of April we put in at the Downs. I landed next morning, and ſaw once more my native country, after an abſence of five years and ſix months complete. I went ſtrait to Redriff, where I arrived the ſame day, at two in the afternoon, and found my wife and family in good health.

TRA-

TRAVELS

Into several REMOTE NATIONS of the World.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE to the Country of the HOUYHNHNMS *.

CHAP. I.

The author sets out as captain of a ship. His men conspire against him, confine him a long time to his cabbin. Set him on shore in an unknown land. He travels up into the country. The Yahoos, *a strange sort of animal, described. The author meets two* Houyhnhnms.

I Continued at home with my wife and children about five months in a very happy condition, if could have learned the lesson of knowing when I vas well. I left my poor wife big with child, and ccepted an advantageous offer made me to be captain

* In this last part of his imaginary travels, Swift has indulged a misanthropy that is intolerable. The representation which he has given us of human nature, must terrify, and even debase the mind of the reader who views it. His sallies of wit and humour lose all their force, nothing remaining but a melancholy and disagreeable impression: we are disgusted, not entertained, we are shocked, not inveigled by the fable. I should therefore chuse to take no notice of his

tain of the Adventure, a ſtout merchant-man o
350 tuns: for I underſtood navigation well, an
being grown weary of a ſurgeon's employmen
at ſea, which however I could exerciſe upon occa
ſion

his YAHOOS, did I not think it neceſſary to aſſert the vindication
human nature, and thereby, in ſome meaſure, to pay my duty to th
great Author of our ſpecies, who has created us in a very fearful, an
a very wonderful manner.

We are compoſed of a mind, and of a body, intimately united, an
mutually affecting each other. Their operations indeed are entire
different. Whether the immortal ſpirit, that enlivens this fine ma
chine, is originally of a ſuperior nature in various bodies, (which,
own, ſeems moſt conſiſtent, and agreeable to the ſcale and order
beings,) or whether the difference depends on a ſymmetry, or peculi
ſtructure of the organs combined with it, is beyond my reach to d
termine. It is evidently certain, that the body is curiouſly form
with proper organs to delight, and ſuch as are adapted to all the n
ceſſary uſes of life. The ſpirit animates the whole; it guides the n
tural appetites, and confines them within juſt limits. But the nat
ral force of this ſpirit is often immerſed in matter; and the mind b
comes ſubſervient to paſſions, which it ought to govern and direc
Horace, although of the Epicurean doctrine, acknowledges this truth
where he ſays,

Atque affigit humo divinæ particulum auræ.

It is no leſs evident, that this immortal ſpirit has an independe
power of acting, and, when cultivated in a proper manner, ſeemin
ly quits the corporeal frame within which it is impriſoned, and ſoa
into higher and more ſpacious regions; where, with an energy, whic
I had almoſt ſaid was divine, it ranges among thoſe heavenly bo
dies, that in this lower world, are ſcarce viſible to our eyes; and w
can at once explain the diſtance, magnitude, and velocity of the pl
nets, and can foretell, even to a degree of minuteneſs, the particul
time when a comet will return, and when the ſun will be eclipſed i
the next century. Theſe powers certainly evince the dignity of huma
nature, and the ſurpriſing effects of the immaterial ſpirit within us
which, in ſo confined a ſtate, can thus diſengage itſelf from the fe
ters of matter. It is from this pre-eminence of the ſoul over the bo
dy, that we are enabled to view the exact order and curious variety o
different beings; to conſider and cultivate the natural productions o
the earth; and to admire and imitate the wiſe benevolence which
reigns throughout the whole ſyſtem of the univerſe. It is from hence
that we form moral laws for our conduct. From hence we delight i
copying that great original, who in his eſſence is utterly incompre
henſible, but in his influence is powerfully apparent to every degre
of his creation. From hence too we perceive a real beauty in virtue
and a diſtinction between good and evil. Virtue acts with the utmo
generoſity, and with no view to her own advantage; while vice, lik
a glutton, feeds herſelf enormouſly, and then is willing to diſgorg
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sion, I took a skilful young man of that calling, one Robert Purefoy, into my ship. We set sail from Portsmouth upon the 7th day of September, 1610; on the 14th, we met with Captain Pocock of Bristol, at Teneriff, who was going to the bay of Campeachy

the nauseous offals of her feast. But I shall wander too far, especially as I flatter myself, that your mind is so good, and so unprejudiced, that you will more easily feel than I can illustrate the truth of these assertions.

Swift deduces his observations from wrong principles: for, in his land of Houyhnhnms, he considers the soul and body in their most degenerate and uncultivated state; the former as a slave to the appetites of the latter. He seems insensible of the surprising mechanism and beauty of every part of the human composition. He forgets the fine description which Ovid gives of mankind:

Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

In painting YAHOOS he becomes one himself. Nor is the picture which he draws of the Houyhnhnms, inviting or amusing. It wants both light and shade to adorn it. It is cold and insipid. We there view the pure instincts of brutes, unaffected by any knowledge of letters, acting within their own narrow sphere, merely for their immediate preservation. They are incapable of doing wrong, therefore they act right. It is surely a very low character given to creatures, in whom the author would insinuate some degree of reason, that they act inoffensively, when they have neither the motive nor the power to act otherwise. Their virtuous qualities are only negatives. Swift himself, amidst all his irony, must have confessed, that to moderate our passions, to extend our munificence to others, to enlarge our understanding, and to raise our idea of the Almighty by contemplating his works, is not only the business, but often the practice, and the study of the human mind. It is too certain, that no individual has ever possessed every qualification and excellence. However, such an assemblage of different virtues may still be collected from different persons, as are sufficient to place the dignity of human nature in an amiable and exalted station. We must lament indeed the many instances of those who degenerate or go astray from the end and intention of their being. The true source of this depravity is often owing to the want of education, to the false indulgence of parents, or to some other bad causes, which are constantly prevalent in every nation. Many of these errors are finely ridiculed in the foregoing parts of this romance: but the voyage to the Houyhnhnms is a real insult upon mankind.

I am heartily tired of the last part of Gulliver's travels; and am glad, that, having exhausted all my observations on this disagreeable subject, I may finish my letter; especially as the conclusion of it naturally turns my thoughts from yahoos, to one of the dearest pledges I have upon earth, yourself, etc. *Orrery.*

Some others, besides Lord Orrery, have thought proper to censure

Campeachy to cut logwood. On the 16th, he wa
parted from us in a ſtorm; I heard, ſince my re
turn, that his ſhip foundered, and none eſcaped
but one cabbin-boy. He was an honeſt man, an
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Gulliver's voyage to the Houyhnhnms. But whether indeed the animadverſions proceeded from the infirmity of their judgement, from ſome Yahoo depravity in their own nature, I ſhall not vouch ſafe to inquire; as the daily occurrences of this wretched world prov illuſtrate, and confirm all the ſarcaſms of the doctor. Shall we prai that excellent moraliſt, the humorous Hogarth, for expoſing midnigh revels, debaucheries, and a thou and other vices and follies of huma kind, in a ſeries of hieroglyphics, ſuited to the improvement and th correction of the wild, the gay, the frolic, and the extravagant? Ar ſhall we condemn a preacher of righteouſneſs, for expoſing, under th character of a naſty unteachable yahoo, the deformity, the blackneſ the filthineſs, and corruption of thoſe helliſh, abominable vices, whic inflame the wrath of God againſt the children of diſobedience; and ſul ject them without repentance, that is, without a thorough change of li and practice, to everlaſting perdition? Ought a preacher of righteouſnes ought a watchman of the Chriſtian faith (who is accountable for h talents, and obliged to warn the innocent, as well as terrify the wick ed and profane,) to hold his peace, like a dumb dog, that cann bark, when avarice, fraud, cheating, violence, rapine, extortio. cruelty, oppreſſion, tyranny, rancour, envy, malice, detraction, h: tred, revenge, murder, whoredom, adultery, laſciviouſneſs, briber corruption, pimping, lying, perjury, ſubornation, treachery, ingr titude, gaming, flattery, drunkenneſs, gluttony, luxury, vanity, e feminacy, cowardice, pride, impudence, hypocriſy, infidelity, bla phemy, idolatry, Sodomy, and innumerable other vices, are as ep demical as the pox, and many of them the notorious characteriſti of the bulk of human kind? I would aſk thoſe mighty ſofteners, the kind pretenders to benevolence, theſe hollow charity-mongers, wh: is their real opinion of that old ſerpent, which, like a roaring lio traverſeth the globe, ſeeking whom he may devour? Was he n created by the Almighty, pure, faultleſs, intelligent? But is the now, throughout the whole ſyſtem of created exiſtence, any beaſt, an Yahoo, any tyrant, ſo vile, ſo baſe, ſo corrupted? And whence ori ginally proceeded the change? Was it not from the abuſe of that free dom, without which no created intelligence can be reputed faithfu wiſe, brave, or virtuous, in the eyes of his Creator? And ſurely, this once great, once glorious, ſpirit hath been reduced for man thouſand of ages, for ought we know to the contrary, below all th ſeveral gradations of created beings, whether intelligent, animal, inſenſible; and expoſed to the fury of that avenging, though merciful God, who is the fountain of all wiſdom, goodneſs, and virtue; ar we not to conclude, by an exact parity of reaſon, that every mora agent is equally accountable to God for that degree of intelligence an perfection, which determines the nature of his exiſtence? And upo this very principle, which cannot be denied without running into th

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a good sailor, but a little too positive in his own opinions, which was the cause of his destruction, as it hath been of several others. For if he had followed my advice, he might have been safe at home with his family at this time, as well as myself.

I had several men died in my ship of calentures, so that I was forced to get recruits out of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, where I touched by the direction of the merchants who employed me; which I had soon too much cause to repent; for I found afterwards, that most of them had been buccaneers *. I had fifty hands on board, and my orders were, that I should trade with the Indians in the South Sea, and make what discoveries I could. These rogues, whom I had picked up, debauched my other men, and they all formed a conspiracy to seize the ship, and secure me; which they did one morning, rushing into my cabbin, and binding me hand and foot, threatening to throw me over-board if I offered to stir. I told them, I was their prisoner, and would submit. This they made me swear to do, and then they unbound me, only fastening one of my legs with a chain near my bed, and placed a

ast of absurdities, and which in fact is the reasoning of St. Peter throughout his whole 2d chapter of his 2d epistle, that creature man, that glorious creature man, is deservedly more contemptible than a brute beast, when he flies in the face of his Creator, by inlisting under the banner of the enemy; and perverts that reason which was designed to have been the glory of his nature, even the directing spirit of his life and demeanour, to the vilest, the most execrable, the most hellish purposes. And this manifestly appears to be the groundwork of the whole satire contained in the voyage to the Houyhnhnms. [Then the author inserts several passages from the Holy Scriptures, and the Apocrypha, which, he says, will fully justify all the sarcasms of the doctor. But these we omit, as improper in a political romance.]

And to conclude: if the brutality and filthiness of the Yahoos be represented by the satiric genius of Dr. Swift, in colours the most shocking and detestable, as they certainly are, and as, in fact, they ought to have been, the picture is the more striking, as well as the more terrible; and, upon that account, more likely to inforce the obligation of religion and virtue upon the souls of men. *Swift.*

* Certain pirates, that infested the West-Indies, were so called.

centry at my door with his piece charged, who was commanded to ſhoot me dead, if I attempted my liberty. They ſent me down victuals and drink and took the government of the ſhip to themſelves. Their deſign was to turn pirates, and plunder the Spaniards, which they could not do, till they got more men. But firſt they reſolved to ſell the goods in the ſhip, and then go to Madagaſcar for recruits; ſeveral among them having died ſince my confinement. They ſailed many weeks, and traded with the Indians; but I knew not what courſe they took, being kept a cloſe priſoner in my cabbin, and expecting nothing leſs than to be murdered, as they often threatened me.

Upon the 9th day of May 1711, one James Welch came down to my cabbin, and ſaid, he had orders from the captain to ſet me a ſhore. I expoſtulated with him, but in vain; neither would he ſo much as tell me, who their new captain was. They forced me into the long boat, letting me put on my beſt ſuit of cloaths, which were as good as new, and take a ſmall bundle of linen, but no arms except my hanger; and they were ſo civil as not to ſearch my pockets, into which I conveyed what money I had, with ſome other little neceſſaries. They rowed about a league; and then ſet me down on a ſtrand. I deſired them to tell me what country it was. They all ſwore, they knew no more than myſelf, but ſaid, that the captain (as they called him) was reſolved, after they had ſold the lading, to get rid of me in the firſt place where they could diſcover land. They puſhed off immediately, adviſing me to make haſte, for fear of being overtaken with the tide; and ſo bade me farewell.

In this deſolate condition I advanced forward, and ſoon got upon firm ground, where I ſat down on a bank to reſt myſelf, and conſider what I had beſt do. When I was a little refreſhed, I went up into the country, reſolving to deliver myſelf to the firſt

firſt ſavages I ſhould meet, and purchaſe my life from them, by ſome bracelets, glaſs rings, and other toys, which ſailors uſually provide themſelves with in thoſe voyages, and whereof I had ſome about me. The land was divided by long rows of trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great plenty of graſs, and ſeveral fields of oats. I walked very circumſpectly for fear of being ſurpriſed, or ſuddenly ſhot with an arrow from behind, or on either ſide. I fell into a beaten road, where I ſaw many tracks of human feet, and ſome of cows, but moſt of horſes. At laſt I beheld ſeveral animals in a field, and one or two of the ſame kind ſitting in trees. Their ſhape was very ſingular and deformed, which a little diſcompoſed me, ſo that I lay down behind a thicket to obſerve them better. Some of them, coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of diſtinctly marking their form. Their heads and breaſts were covered with a thick hair, ſome frizled, and others lank; they had beards like goats, and a long ridge of hair down their backs, and the fore-parts of their legs and feet; but the reſt of their bodies were bare, ſo that I might ſee their ſkins, which were of a brown buff-colour. They had no tails, nor any hair at all on their buttocks, except about the *anus*; which, I preſume, Nature had placed there to defend them, as they ſat on the ground; for this poſture they uſed, as well as lying down, and often ſtood on their hind-feet. They climbed high trees as nimbly as a ſquirrel; for they had ſtrong extended claws before and behind, terminating in ſharp points, and hooked. They would often ſpring, and bound, and leap with prodigious agility. The females were not ſo large as the males; they had long lank hair on their heads, but none on their faces, nor any thing more than a ſort of down on the reſt of their bodies, except about the *anus* and *pudenda*. Their dugs hung between their

fore feet, and often reached almoſt to the ground as they walked. The hair of both ſexes was of ſeveral colours, brown, red, black, and yellow. Upon the whole, I never beheld in all my travels ſo diſagreeable an animal, or one againſt which I naturally conceived ſo ſtrong an antipathy. So that thinking I had ſeen enough, full of contempt and averſion, I got up, and purſued the beaten road, hoping it might direct me to the cabbin of ſome Indian. I had not got far, when I met one of theſe creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly monſter, when he ſaw me, diſtorted ſeveral ways every feature of his viſage, and ſtared as at an object he had never ſeen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his fore-paw, whether out of curioſity or miſchief, I could not tell: but I drew my hanger, and gave him a good blow with the flat ſide of it; for I durſt not ſtrike with the edge, fearing the inhabitants might be provoked againſt me, if they ſhould come to know, that I had killed or maimed any of their cattle. When the beaſt felt the ſmart, he drew back, and roared ſo loud, that a herd of at leaſt forty came flocking about me from the next field, howling and making odious faces; but I ran to the body of a tree, and, leaning my back againſt it, kept them off by waving my hanger. Several of this curſed brood, getting hold of the branches behind, leapt up into the tree, from whence they began to diſcharge their excrements on my head: however, I eſcaped pretty well by ſticking cloſe to the ſtem of the tree, but was almoſt ſtifled with the filth, which fell about me on every ſide.

In the midſt of this diſtreſs, I obſerved them all to run away on a ſudden as faſt as they could, at which I ventured to leave the tree, and purſue the road, wondering what it was that could put them into this fright. But, looking on my left hand, I ſaw a horſe walking ſoftly in the field: which, my

perſecutors

perſecutors having ſooner diſcovered, was the cauſe of their flight. The horſe ſtarted a little when he came near me, but, ſoon recovering himſelf, looked full in my face with manifeſt tokens of wonder: he viewed my hands and feet, walking round me ſeveral times. I would have purſued my journey, but he placed himſelf directly in the way, yet looking with a very mild aſpect, never offering the leaſt violence. We ſtood gazing at each other for ſome time; at laſt I took the boldneſs to reach my hand towards his neck with a deſign to ſtroak it, uſing the common ſtyle and whiſtle of Jockies, when they are going to handle a ſtrange horſe. But this animal ſeemed to receive my civilities with diſdain, ſhook his head, and bent his brows, ſoftly raiſing up his right fore-foot to remove my hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in ſo different a cadence, that I almoſt began to think he was ſpeaking to himſelf in ſome language of his own.

While he and I were thus employed, another horſe came up; who applying himſelf to the firſt in a very formal manner, they gently ſtruck each other's right hoof before, neighing ſeveral times by turns, and varying the ſound, which ſeemed to be almoſt articulate. They went ſome paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking ſide by ſide, backward and forward, like perſons deliberating upon ſome affair of weight, but often turning their eyes towards me, as it were to watch that I might not eſcape. I was amazed to ſee ſuch actions and behaviour in brute beaſts; and concluded with myſelf, that if the inhabitants of this country were endued with a proportionable degree of reaſon, they muſt needs be the wiſeſt people upon earth. This thought gave me ſo much comfort, that I reſolved to go forward, until I could diſcover ſome houſe or village, or meet with any of the natives, leaving the two horſes to diſcourſe together as they pleaſed. But the firſt, who was a dapple-grey, obſerving

ſerving me to ſteal off, neighed after me in ſo expreſſive a tone, that I fancied myſelf to underſtand what he meant; whereupon I turned back, and came near him to expect his farther commands, but concealing my fear as much as I could; for I began to be in ſome pain, how this adventure might terminate; and the reader will eaſily believe, I did not much like my preſent ſituation.

The two horſes came up cloſe to me, looking with great earneſtneſs upon my face and hands. The grey ſteed rubbed my hat all round with his right fore-hoof, and diſcompoſed it ſo much, that I was forced to adjuſt it better, by taking it off and ſettling it again; whereat both he and his companion (who was brown-bay,) appeared to be much ſurpriſed; the latter felt the lappet of my coat, and finding it to hang looſe about me, they both looked with new ſigns of wonder. He ſtroaked my right hand, ſeeming to admire the ſoftneſs and colour; but he ſqeezed it ſo hard between his hoof and his paſtern, that I was forced to roar; after which they both touched me with all poſſible tenderneſs. They were under great perplexity about my ſhoes and ſtockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and uſing various geſtures, not unlike thoſe of a philoſopher, when he would attempt to ſolve ſome new and difficult phænomenon.

Upon the whole, the behaviour of theſe animals was ſo orderly and rational, ſo acute and judicious, that I at laſt concluded they were two magicians, who had thus metamorphoſed themſelves upon ſome deſign, and, ſeeing a ſtranger in the way, reſolved to divert themſelves with him; or perhaps were really amazed at the ſight of a man ſo very different in habit, feature, and complexion, from thoſe who might probably live in ſo remote a climate. Upon the ſtrength of this reaſoning, I ventured to addreſs them in the following manner: Gentlemen, if you be conjurers, as I have good cauſe to believe, you

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can underſtand any language; therefore I make bold to let your worſhips know, that I am a poor diſtreſſ'd Engliſhman, driven by his misfortunes upon your coaſt, and I intreat one of you to let me ride upon his back, as if he were a real horſe, to ſome houſe or village, where I can be relieved. In return of which favour I will make you a preſent of this knife and bracelet, (taking them out of my pocket) The two creatures ſtood ſilent while I ſpoke, ſeeming to liſten with great attention; and when I had ended, they neighed frequently towards each other, as if they were engaged in ſerious converſation. I plainly obſerved, that their language expreſſed the paſſions very well, and the words might with little pains be reſolved into an alphabet more eaſily than the Chineſe.

I could frequently diſtinguiſh the word Yahoo, which was repeated by each of them ſeveral times; and although it was impoſſible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet, while the two horſes were buſy in converſation, I endeavoured to practiſe this word upon my tongue; and as ſoon as they were ſilent, I boldly pronounced Yahoo in a loud voice, imitating at the ſame time, as near as I could, the neighing of a horſe; at which they were both viſibly ſurpriſed, and the grey repeated the ſame word twice, as if he meant to teach me the right accent, wherein I ſpoke after him as well as I could, and found myſelf perceivably to improve every time, though very far from any degree of perfection. Then the bay tried me with a ſecond word much harder to be pronounced; but, reducing it to the Engliſh orthography, may be ſpelt thus, Houyhnhnm. I did not ſucceed in this ſo well as the former; but after two or three farther trials, I had better fortune; and they both appeared amazed at my capacity.

After ſome farther diſcourſe, which I then conjectured might relate to me, the two friends took their

their leaves with the ſame compliment of ſtriking each other's hoof; and the grey made me ſigns that I ſhould walk before him; wherein I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better director. When I offered to ſlacken my pace, he would cry *hhuun, hhuun*; I gueſſed his meaning, and gave him to underſtand, as well as I could, that I was weary, and not able to walk faſter; upon which he would ſtand a while to let me reſt.

CHAP. II.

The author conducted by a Houyhnhnm to his houſe. The houſe deſcribed. The author's reception. The food of the Houyhnhnms. The author in diſtreſs for want of meat, is at laſt relieved. His manner of feeding in that country.

HAVING travelled about three miles, we came to a long kind of building, made of timber ſtuck in the ground, and wattled a-croſs; the roof was low, and covered with ſtraw. I now began to be a little comforted; and took out ſome toys, which travellers uſually carry for preſents to the ſavage Indians of America and other parts, in hopes the people of the houſe would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly. The horſe made me a ſign to go in firſt; it was a large room with a ſmooth clay-floor, and a rack and manger, extending the whole length on one ſide. There were three nags, and two mares, not eating, but ſome of them ſitting down upon their hams, which I very much wondered at; but wondered more to ſee the reſt employed in domeſtic buſineſs; theſe ſeemed but ordinary cattle: however this confirmed my firſt opinion, that a people, who could ſo far civilize brute animals,

animals, muſt needs excel in wiſdom all the nations of the world. The grey came in juſt after, and thereby prevented any ill treatment which the others might have given me. He neighed to them ſeveral times in a ſtile of authority, and received anſwers.

Beyond this room there were three others reaching the length of the houſe, to which you paſſed through three doors, oppoſite to each other, in the manner of a viſta; we went through the ſecond room towards the third; here the grey walked in firſt, beckoning me to attend. I waited in the ſecond room, and got ready my preſents for the maſter and miſtreſs of the houſe: they were two knives, three bracelets of falſe pearl, a ſmall looking-glaſs, and a bead-necklace. The horſe neighed three or four times, and I waited to hear ſome anſwers in a human voice, but I heard no other returns than in the ſame dialect, only one or two a little ſhriller than his. I began to think, that this houſe muſt belong to ſome perſon of great note among them, becauſe there appeared ſo much ceremony before I could gain admittance. But, that a man of quality ſhould be ſerved all by horſes, was beyond my comprehenſion. I feared my brain was diſturbed by my ſufferings and misfortunes: I rouſed myſelf, and looked about me in the room, where I was left alone; this was furniſhed like the firſt, only after a more elegant manner. I rubbed my eyes often, but the ſame objects ſtill occurred. I pinched my arms and ſides to awake myſelf, hoping I might be in a dream. I then abſolutely concluded, that all theſe appearances could be nothing elſe but necromancy and magic. But I had no time to purſue theſe reflections; for the grey horſe came to the door, and made me a ſign to follow him into the third room; where I ſaw a very comely mare, together with a colt and foal, ſitting on their haunches upon matts of ſtraw, not unartfully made, and perfectly neat and clean.

The

The mare ſoon after my entrance roſe from her matt, and coming up cloſe, after having nicely obſerved my hands and face, gave me a moſt contemptuous look; then turning to the horſe, I heard the word *yahoo* often repeated betwixt them; the meaning of which word I could not then comprehend, although it was the firſt I had learned to pronounce; but I was ſoon better informed to my everlaſting mortification: for the horſe beckoning to me with his head, and repeating the word *hhuun, hhuun*, as he did upon the road, which I underſtood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of court, where was another building at ſome diſtance from the houſe. Here we entered, and I ſaw three of thoſe deteſtable creatures, which I firſt met after my landing, feeding upon roots and the fleſh of ſome animals, which I afterwards found to be that of aſſes and dogs, and now and then a cow dead by accident or diſeaſe. They were all tied by the neck with ſtrong wyths faſtened to a beam; they held their food between the claws of their fore-feet, and tore it with their teeth.

The maſter horſe ordered a ſorrel nag, one of his ſervants, to untie the largeſt of theſe animals, and take him into the yard. The beaſt and I were brought cloſe together; and our countenances diligently compared both by maſter and ſervant, who thereupon repeated ſeveral times the word *yahoo*. My horror and aſtoniſhment are not to be deſcribed, when I obſerved in this abominable animal a perfect human figure: the face of it indeed was flat and broad, the noſe depreſſed, the lips large, and the mouth wide: but theſe differences are common to all ſavage nations, where the lineaments of the countenance are diſtorted by the natives ſuffering their infants to lie grovelling on the earth, or by carrying them on their backs nuzzling with their face againſt the mother's ſhoulders. The fore-feet of the yahoo differed from my hands in nothing

elſe, but the length of the nails, the coarſeneſs and brownneſs of the palms, and the hairineſs on the backs. There was the ſame reſemblance between our feet, with the ſame differences, which I knew very well, though the horſes did not, becauſe of my ſhoes and ſtockings; the ſame in every part of our bodies, except as to hairineſs and colour, which I have already deſcribed.

The great difficulty, that ſeemed to ſtick with the two horſes, was, to ſee the reſt of my body ſo very different from that of a yahoo, for which I was obliged to my cloaths, whereof they had no conception. The ſorrel nag offered me a root, which he held (after their manner, as we ſhall deſcribe in its proper place) between his hoof and paſtern: I took it in my hand, and having ſmelt it returned it to him again as civilly as I could. He brought out of the yahoo's kennel a piece of aſs's fleſh, but it ſmelt ſo offenſively, that I returned from it with loathing; he then threw it to the yahoo, by whom it was greedily devoured *. He afterwards ſhewed me a whiſp of hay and a fetlock full of oats; but I ſhook my head to ſignify, that neither of theſe were food for me. And indeed I now apprehended, that I muſt abſolutely ſtarve, if I did not get to ſome of my own ſpecies; for as to thoſe filthy yahoos, although there were few greater lovers of mankind at that time, than myſelf; yet I confeſs, I never ſaw any ſenſitive being ſo deteſtable on all accounts; and the more I came near them, the more hateful they grew, while I ſtayed in that country. This the maſter-horſe obſerved by my behaviour, and therefore ſent the yahoo back to his kennel. He then put his fore-hoof to his mouth,

* Whoever is diſguſted with this picture of a yahoo, would do well to reflect, that it becomes his own in exact proportion as he deviates from virtue, for virtue is the perfection of reaſon. The appetites of thoſe abandoned to vice, are not leſs brutal and ſordid than that of a yahoo for aſſes fleſh; nor is their life a ſtate of leſs abject ſervility.

at which I was much surprised, although he did with ease, and with a motion that appeared perfectly natural; and made other signs to know what I would eat; but I could not return him such an answer as he was able to apprehend; and if he had understood me, I did not see how it was possible to contrive any way for finding myself nourishment. While we were thus engaged, I observed a cow passing by; whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a desire to go and milk her. This had its effect; for he led me back into the house, and ordered a mare-servant to open a room, where a good store of milk lay in earthen and wooden vessels after a very orderly and cleanly manner. She gave me a large bowl full, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed.

About noon I saw coming towards the house a kind of vehicle drawn like a sledge by four yahoos. There was in it an old steed, who seemed to be quality; he alighted with his hind feet forward, having by accident got a hurt in his left fore-foot. He came to dine with our horse, who received him with great civility. They dined in the best room, and had oats boiled in milk for the second course, which the old horse eat warm, but the rest cold. Their mangers were placed circular in the middle of the room, and divided into several partitions, round which they sat on their haunches upon bosses of straw. In the middle was a large rack, with angles answering to every partition of the manger. So that each horse and mare eat their own hay, and their own mash of oats and milk, with much decency and regularity. The behaviour of the young colt and fole appeared very modest; and that of the master and mistress extremely chearful and complaisant to their guest. The grey ordered me to stand by him; and much discourse passed between him and his friend concerning me, as I found by the

the ſtranger's often looking at me, and the frequent repetition of the word *yahoo*

I happened to wear my gloves, which the maſter grey obſerving, ſeemed perplexed, diſcovering ſigns of wonder what I had done to my fore-feet; he put his hoof three or four times to them, as if he would ſignify, that I ſhould reduce them to their former ſhape, which I preſently did, pulling off both my gloves, and putting them into my pocket. This occaſioned farther talk, and I ſaw the company was pleaſed with my behaviour, whereof I ſoon found the good effects. I was ordered to ſpeak the few words I underſtood; and while they were at dinner, the maſter taught me names for oats, milk, fire, water, and ſome others; which I could readily pronounce after him, having from my youth a great facility in learning languages.

When dinner was done, the maſter-horſe took me aſide, and by ſigns and words made me underſtand the concern he was in, that I had nothing to eat. Oats in their tongue are called *hlunnh*. This word I pronounced two or three times; for although I had refuſed them at firſt, yet upon ſecond thoughts I conſidered, that I could contrive to make of them a kind of bread, which might be ſufficient with milk to keep me alive, till I could make my eſcape to ſome other country, and to creatures of my own ſpecies. The horſe immediately ordered a white mare-ſervant of his family to bring me a good quantity of oats in a ſort of wooden tray. Theſe I heated before the fire, as well as I could, and rubbed them till the huſks came off, which I made a ſhift to winnow from the grain; I ground and beat them between two ſtones, then took water, and made them into a paſte or cake, which I toaſted at the fire, and eat warm with milk. It was at firſt a very inſipid diet, though common enough in many parts of Europe, but grew tolerable by time; and having been often re-

duced to hard fare in my life, this was not the firſt experiment I had made, how eaſily nature is ſatiſfied. And I cannot but obſerve, that I never had one hour's ſickneſs while I ſtaid in this iſland. It is true, I ſometimes made a ſhift to catch a rabbit, or bird, by ſpringes made of *yahoo*'s hairs; and I often gathered wholeſome herbs, which I boiled or eat as ſalads with my bread; and now and then, for a rarity, I made a little butter, and drank the whey. I was at firſt at a great loſs for ſalt; but cuſtom ſoon reconciled me to the want of it; and I am confident, that the frequent uſe of ſalt among us is an effect of luxury, and was firſt introduced only as a provocative to drink; except where it is neceſſary for preſerving of fleſh in long voyages, or in places remote from great markets. For we obſerve no animal to be fond of it but man: and as to myſelf, when I left this country, it was a great while before I could endure the taſte of it in any thing that I eat.

This is enough to ſay upon the ſubject of my diet, wherewith other travellers fill their books, as if the readers were perſonally concerned, whether we fare well or ill. However it was neceſſary to mention this matter, leſt the world ſhould think it impoſſible, that I could find ſuſtenance for three years in ſuch a country and among ſuch inhabitants.

When it grew towards evening, the maſter horſe ordered a place for me to lodge in; it was but ſix yards from the houſe, and ſeparated from the ſtable of the *yahoos*. Here I got ſome ſtraw, and covering myſelf with my own cloaths, ſlept very ſound. But I was in a ſhort time better accommodated, as the reader ſhall know hereafter, when I come to treat more particularly about my way of living.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

he author ſtudious to learn the language: the Houyhnhnm, *his maſter, aſſiſts in teaching him. The language deſcribed. Several* Houyhnhnms *of quality come out of curioſity to ſee the author. He gives his maſter a ſhort account of his voyage.*

MY principal endeavour was to learn the language, which my maſter (for ſo I ſhall henceorth call him) and his children, and every ſervant f his houſe were deſirous to teach me. For they ooked upon it as a prodigy, that a brute animal hould diſcover ſuch marks of a rational creature. pointed to every thing, and enquired the name f it, which I wrote down in my *journal book* when was alone, and corrected my bad accent by deiring thoſe of the family to pronounce it often. n this employment a ſorrel nag, one of the underrvants, was very ready to aſſiſt me.

In ſpeaking they pronounce through the noſe nd throat, and their language approaches neareſt the High Dutch or German, of any I know in urope; but is much more graceful and ſignificant. he emperor Charles V made almoſt the ſame obrvation, when he ſaid, that if he were to ſpeak his horſe, it ſhould be in High Dutch.

The curioſity and impatience of my maſter were great, that he ſpent many hours of his leiſure to ſtruct me. He was convinced (as he afterwards ld me) that I muſt be a *yahoo*, but my teachableeſs, civility, and cleanlineſs, aſtoniſhed him; which ere qualities altogether oppoſite to thoſe animals. e was moſt perplexed about my cloaths, reaſoning ſometimes with himſelf, whether they were a

part of my body; for I never pulled them off t the family were asleep, and got them on befor they waked in the morning. My master was eag to learn from whence I came; how I acquire those appearances of reason, which I discovered i all my actions; and to know my story from m own mouth, which he hoped he should soon do b the great proficiency I made in learning and pro nouncing their words and sentences. To help m memory, I formed all I learned into the Englis alphabet, and writ the words down with the tran lations. This last after some time I ventured to d in my master's presence. It cost me much troubl to explain to him what I was doing: for the inha bitants have not the least idea of books or literature

In about ten weeks time I was able to understan most of his questions; and in three months coul give him some tolerable answers. He was extreme ly curious to know from what part of the countr I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rationa creature; because the *yahoos* (whom he saw I ex actly resembled in my head, hands and face, tha were only visible) with some appearance of cunning and the strongest disposition to mischief, were ob served to be the most unteachable of all brutes I answered that I came over the sea from a fa place, with many others of my own kind, in great hollow vessel made of the bodies of trees that my companions forced me to land on thi coast, and then left me to shift for myself. It wa with some difficulty, and by the help of many signs that I brought him to understand me. He replied that I must needs be mistaken, or that I *said th thing which was not* (for they have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood. He knew it was impossible, that there could be a coun try beyond the sea, or that a parcel of brutes could move a wooden vessel whither they pleased upon water. He was sure no Houyhnhnm alive could make

make ſuch a veſſel, nor would truſt *yahoos* to manage it.

The word Houyhnhnm in their tongue ſignifies a *horſe*, and in its etymology, *the perfection of nature*. I told my maſter that I was at a loſs for expreſſion, but would improve as faſt as I could; and hoped in a ſhort time I ſhould be able to tell him wonders: he was pleaſed to direct his own mare, his colt and fole, and the ſervants of the family, to take all opportunities of inſtructing me; and every day for two or three hours he was at the ſame pains himſelf: ſeveral horſes and mares of quality in the neighbourhood came often to our houſe, upon the report ſpread of a wonderful *yahoo* that could ſpeak like a Houyhnhnm, and ſeemed in his words and actions to diſcover ſome glimmerings of reaſon. Theſe delighted to converſe with me; they put many queſtions, and received ſuch anſwers as I was able to return. By all theſe advantages I made ſo great a progreſs, that in five months from my arrival I underſtood whatever was ſpoken, and could expreſs myſelf tolerably well.

The Houyhnhnms who came to viſit my maſter, out of a deſign of ſeeing and talking with me, could hardly believe me to be a right *yahoo*, becauſe my body had a different covering from others of my kind. They were aſtoniſhed to obſerve me without the uſual hair or ſkin, except on my head, face, and hands; but I diſcovered that ſecret to my maſter upon an accident, which happened about a fortnight before.

I have already told the reader, that every night, when the family were gone to bed, it was my cuſtom to ſtrip, and cover myſelf with my cloaths: it happened one morning early, that my maſter ſent for me by the ſorrel nag, who was his valet; when he came, I was faſt aſleep, my cloaths had fallen off on one ſide, and my ſhirt above my waiſt.

I awaked

I awaked at the noiſe he made, and obſerved him to deliver his meſſage in ſome diſorder; after which he went to my maſter, and in a great fright gave him a very confuſed account of what he had ſeen: this I preſently diſcovered; for going as ſoon as I was dreſſed to pay my attendance upon his honour, he aſked me the meaning of what his ſervant had reported; that I was not the ſame thing when I ſlept, as I appeared to be at other times; that his valet aſſured him, ſome part of me was white, ſome yellow, at leaſt not ſo white, and ſome brown.

I had hitherto concealed the ſecret of my dreſs in order to diſtinguiſh myſelf, as much as poſſible, from that curſed race of *yahoos*; but now I found it in vain to do ſo any longer. Beſides I conſidered, that my cloaths and ſhoes would ſoon wear out, which already were in a declining condition, and muſt be ſupplied by ſome contrivance from the hides of *yahoos*, or other brutes; whereby the whole ſecret would be known: I therefore told my maſter, that in the country from whence I came, thoſe of my kind always covered their bodies with the hairs of certain animals prepared by art, as well for decency, as to avoid the inclemencies of air both hot and cold; of which, as to my own perſon, I would give him immediate conviction, if he pleaſed to command me; only deſiring his excuſe, if I did not expoſe thoſe parts that nature taught us to conceal. He ſaid my diſcourſe was all very ſtrange, but eſpecially the laſt part; for he could not underſtand, why nature ſhould teach us to conceal what nature had given: that neither himſelf nor family were aſhamed of any parts of their bodies; but however I might do as I pleaſed. Whereupon I firſt unbuttoned my coat, and pulled it off. I did the ſame with my waiſtcoat; I drew off my ſhoes, ſtockings, and breeches. I let my ſhirt down to my waiſt, and drew up the bottom, faſtening

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ing it like a girdle about my middle to hide my nakedneſs.

My maſter obſerved the whole performance with great ſigns of curioſity and admiration. He took up all my cloaths in his paſtern, one piece after another, and examined them diligently; he then ſtroaked my body very gently, and looked round me ſeveral times, after which he ſaid, it was plain I muſt be a perfect *yahoo*; but that I differed very much from the reſt of my ſpecies in the ſoftneſs, whiteneſs, and ſmoothneſs of my ſkin, my want of hair in ſeveral parts of my body, the ſhape and ſhortneſs of my claws behind and before, and my affectation of walking continually on my two hinder feet. He deſired to ſee no more; and gave me leave to put on my cloaths again, for I was ſhuddering with cold.

I expreſſed my uneaſineſs at his giving me ſo often the appellation of *yahoo*, an odious animal, for which I had ſo utter an hatred and contempt: I begged he would forbear applying that word to me, and take the ſame order in his family, and among his friends, whom he ſuffered to ſee me. I requeſted likewiſe, that the ſecret of my having a falſe covering to my body might be known to none but himſelf, at leaſt as long as my preſent cloathing ſhould laſt; for as to what the ſorrel nag his valet had obſerved, his honour might command him to conceal it.

All this my maſter very graciouſly conſented to, and thus the ſecret was kept till my cloaths began to wear out, which I was forced to ſupply by ſeveral contrivances, that ſhall hereafter be mentioned. In the mean time he deſired I would go on with my utmoſt diligence to learn their language, becauſe he was more aſtoniſhed at my capacity for ſpeech and reaſon, than at the figure of my body, whether it were covered or no; adding, that he waited with

with ſome impatience to hear, the wonders, which I promiſed to tell him.

From thence forward he doubled the pains he had been at to inſtruct me; he brought me into all company, and made them treat me with civility, becauſe, as he told them privately, this would put me into a good humour, and make me more diverting.

Every day, when I waited on him, beſide the trouble he was at in teaching, he would aſk me ſeveral queſtions concerning myſelf, which I anſwered as well as I could; and by theſe means he had already received ſome general ideas, though very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the ſeveral ſteps, by which I advanced to a more regular converſation: but the firſt account I gave of myſelf in any order and length was to this purpoſe:

That I came from a very far country, as I already had attempted to tell him, with about fifty more of my own ſpecies; that we travelled upon the ſeas in a great hollow veſſel made of wood, and larger than his honour's houſe. I deſcribed the ſhip to him in the beſt terms I could, and explained by the help of my handkerchief diſplayed, how it was driven by the wind. That upon a quarrel among us I was ſet on ſhore on this coaſt, where I walked forward, without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the perſecution of thoſe execrable *yahoos*.

He aſked me, who made the ſhip, and how it was poſſible that the Houyhnhnms of my country would leave it to the management of brutes? My anſwer was, that I durſt proceed no farther in my relation, unleſs he would give me his word and honour that he would not be offended, and then I would tell him the wonders I had ſo often promiſed. He agreed: and I went on by aſſuring him that the ſhip was built by creatures like myſelf, who in all the countries I had travelled, as well as in my own, were the only governing, rational animals? and

and that upon my arrival hither I was as much aſtonithed to ſee the Houyhnhnms act like rational beings, as he or his friends could be in finding ſome marks of reaſon in a creature he was pleaſed to call a *yahoo*; to which I owned my reſemblance in every part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal nature. I ſaid farther, that if good fortune ever reſtored me to my native country to remy travels hither, as I reſolved to do, every body would believe, that I *ſaid the thing which was not*; that I invented the ſtory out of my own head; and (with all poſſible reſpect to himſelf, his family, and friends, and under his promiſe of not being offended) our countreymen would hardly think it probable, that a Houyhnhnm ſhould be the preſiding creature of a nation, and a *yahoo* the brute.

CHAP. IV.

The Houyhnhnms' *notion of truth and falſehood. The author's diſcourſe diſapproved by his maſter. The author gives a more particular account of himſelf, and the accidents of his voyage.*

MY maſter heard me with great appearances of uneaſineſs in his countenance; becauſe *doubting* or *not believing*, are ſo little known in this country, that the inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themſelves under ſuch circumſtances. And I remember, in frequent diſcourſes with my maſter concerning the nature of manhood in other parts of the world, having occaſion to talk of *lying* and *falſe repreſentation*, it was with much difficulty that he comprehended what I meant; altho' he had otherwiſe a moſt acute judgement. For he argued thus; that the uſe of ſpeech was to make us underſtand one another

nother, and to receive information of facts; now if one *ſaid the thing which was not*, theſe ends wer defeated; becauſe I cannot properly be ſaid to un derſtand him; and I am ſo far from receiving in formation, that he leaves me worſe than in igno rance; for I am led to believe a thing *black* whe it is *white*, and *ſhort* when it is *long*. And theſe wer all the notions he had concerning that faculty of *ly ing*, ſo perfectly well underſtood, and ſo univerſal ly practiſed, among human creatures.

To return from this digreſſion; when I aſſerte that the *yahoos* were the only governing animals i my country, which my maſter ſaid, was altogethe paſt his conception, he deſired to know, whethe we had Houyhnhnms among us, and what wa their employment: I told him, we had great num bers; that in ſummer they grazed in the fields, an in winter were kept in houſes with hay and oats where *yahoo*-ſervants were employed to rub thei ſkins ſmooth, comb their manes, pick their feet, ſerve them with food, and make their beds. I u derſtand you well, ſaid my maſter; it is now very plain from all you have ſpoken, that whatever ſhare of reaſon the *yahoos* pretend to, the Houyhnhnms are your maſters; I heartily wiſh our *yahoos* would be ſo tractable. I begged his honour would pleaſe to excuſe me from proceeding any farther, becauſe I was very certain that the account he expected from me would be highly diſpleaſing. But he inſiſted in commanding me to let him know the beſt and the worſt: I told him he ſhould be obeyed. I owned, that the Houyhnhnms among us, whom we called *horſes*, were the moſt generous and comely animal we had; that they excelled in ſtrength and ſwiftneſs; and when they belonged to perſons of quality, were employed in travelling, racing, or drawing of chariots, they were treated with much kindneſs and care, till they fell into diſeaſes or became foundered in their feet; but then they were

ſold, and uſed to all kind of drudgery, till they died; after which their ſkins were ſtripped, and ſold for what they were worth, and their bodies left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. But the common race of horſes had not ſo good fortune being kept by farmers and carriers and other mean people who put them to great labour, and fed them worſe. I deſcribed, as well as I could, our way of riding; the ſhape and uſe of a bridle, a ſaddle, a ſpur, and a whip; of harneſs and wheels. I added, that we faſtened plates of a certain hard ſubſtance, called *iron*, at the bottom of their feet, to preſerve their hoofs from being broken by the ſtony ways, on which we often travelled.

My maſter, after ſome expreſſions of great indignation, wondered how we dared to venture upon a Houyhnhnm's back; for he was ſure that the weakeſt ſervant in his houſe would be able to ſhake off the ſtrongeſt *yahoo*; or by lying down, and rolling on his back, ſqueeze the brute to death. I anſwered, that our horſes were trained up from three or four years old to the ſeveral uſes we intended them for; that, if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages; that they were ſeverely beaten, while they were young, for any miſchievous tricks; that the males deſigned for the common uſe of riding or draught, were generally *caſtrated* about two years after their birth, to take down their ſpirits and make them more tame and gentle; that they were indeed ſenſible of rewards and puniſhments; but his honour would pleaſe to conſider, that they had not the leaſt tincture of reaſon, any more than the *yahoos* in this country.

It put me to the pains of many circumlocutions to give my maſter a right idea of what I ſpoke; for their language doth not abound in variety of words, becauſe their wants and paſſions are fewer than among us. But it is impoſſible to expreſs his

noble reſentment at our ſavage treatment of t
Houyhnhnm race; particularly after I had explai
ed the manner and uſe of caſtrating horſes amo
us to hinder them from propogating their kin
and to render them more ſervile. He ſaid, if
were poſſible there could be any country, where y
hoos alone were endued with reaſon, they certain
muſt be the governing animal, becauſe reaſon w
in time always prevail againſt brutal ſtrength. B
conſidering the frame of our bodies, and eſpecial
of mine, he thought no creature of equal bulk w
ſo ill contrived for employing that reaſon in t
common offices of life; whereupon, he deſired
know, whether thoſe, among whom I lived, r
ſembled me or the yahoos of his country. I aſſu
ed him, that I was as well ſhaped as moſt of n
age: but the younger and the females were muc
more ſoft and tender, and the ſkins of the latt
generally as white as milk. He ſaid, I differed i
deed from other yahoos, being much more clea
ly, and not altogether ſo deformed; but in poi
of real advantage, he thought I differed for th
worſe. That my nails were of no uſe either to m
fore or hinder-feet: as to my fore-feet he could n
properly call them by that name, for he never ob
ſerved me to walk upon them; that they were to
ſoft to bear the ground; that I generally went wit
them uncovered, neither was the covering I ſome
times wore on them, of the ſame ſhape, or ſ
ſtrong as that on my feet behind. That I coul
not walk with any ſecurity; for if either of my hin
der feet ſlipped, I muſt inevitably fall. He then be
gan to find fault with other parts of my body; th
flatneſs of my face, the prominence of my noſe
mine eyes placed directly in front, ſo that I could no
look on either ſide without turning my head; tha
I was not able to feed myſelf without lifting one o
my fore-feet to my mouth; and therefore natur
had placed thoſe joints to anſwer that neceſſity

He knew not what could be the uſe of thoſe ſeveral clefts and diviſions in my feet behind; that theſe were too ſoft to bear the hardneſs and ſharpneſs of ſtones, without a covering made from the ſkin of ſome other brute; that my whole body wanted a fence againſt heat and cold, which I was forced to put on and off every day with tediouſneſs and trouble. And laſtly, that he obſerved every animal in this country naturally to abhor the *yahoos*, whom the weaker avoided, and the ſtronger drove from them. So that, ſuppoſing us to have the gift of reaſon, he could not ſee how it were poſſible to cure that natural antipathy, which every creature diſcovered againſt us; nor conſequently how we could tame and render them ſerviceable. However, he would, as he ſaid, debate the matter no farther, becauſe he was more deſirous to know my own ſtory, the country where I was born, and the ſeveral actions and events of my life before I came hither.

I aſſured him, how extremely deſirous I was, that he ſhould be ſatisfied in every point; but I doubted much, whether it would be poſſible for me to explain myſelf on ſeveral ſubjects, whereof his honour could have no conception; becauſe I ſaw nothing in his country, to which I could reſemble them. That however I would do my beſt, and ſtrive to expreſs myſelf by ſimilitudes, humbly deſiring his aſſiſtance, when I wanted proper words; which he was pleaſed to promiſe me.

I ſaid, my birth was of honeſt parents, in an iſland called England, which was remote from his country as many days journey, as the ſtrongeſt of his honour's ſervants could travel in the annual courſe of the ſun: That I was bred a ſurgeon, whoſe trade it is to cure wounds and hurts in the body gotten by accident or violence: That my country was governed by a female man, whom we called Queen: That I left it to get riches, where-

by I might maintain myſelf and family when ſhould return: That in my laſt voyage I was commander of the ſhip, and had about fifty *yahoos* under me, many of which died at ſea, and I was forced to ſupply them by others picked out from ſeveral nations: That our ſhip was twice in danger of being ſunk; the firſt time by a great ſtorm, and the ſecond by ſtriking againſt a rock. Here my maſter interpoſed, by aſking me, how I could perſuade ſtrangers out of different countries to venture with me, after the loſſes I had ſuſtained, and the hazards I had run. I ſaid, they were fellows of deſperate fortunes, forced to fly from the place of their birth on account of their poverty or their crimes. Some were undone by law-ſuits; others ſpent all they had in drinking, whoring, and gaming; others fled for treaſon; many for murder, theft, poiſoning, robbery, perjury, forgery, coining falſe-money, for committing rapes or ſodomy; for flying from their colours, or deſerting to the enemy; and moſt of them had broken priſon none of theſe durſt return to their native countries for fear of being hanged, or of ſtarving in a jail and therefore they were under a neceſſity of ſeeking a livelihood in other places.

During this diſcourſe, my maſter was pleaſed to interrupt me ſeveral times; I had made uſe of many circumlocutions in deſcribing to him the nature of the ſeveral crimes, for which moſt of our crew had been forced to fly their country. This labour took up ſeveral days converſation before he was able to comprehend me. He was wholly at a loſs to know, what could be the uſe or neceſſity of practiſing thoſe vices. To clear up which, I endeavoured to give him ſome ideas of the deſire of power and riches; of the terrible effects of luſt, intemperance, malice, and envy. All this I was forced to define and deſcribe by putting caſes and making ſuppoſitions. After which, like one whoſe imagination

imagination was ſtruck with ſomething never ſeen or heard of before, he would lift up his eyes with amazement and indignation. Power, government, war, law, puniſhment, and a thouſand other things had no terms, wherein that language could expreſs them; which made the difficulty almoſt inſuperable to give my maſter any conception of what I meant. But being of an excellent underſtanding, much improved by contemplation and converſe, he at laſt arrived at a competent knowledge of what human nature in our parts of the world is capable to perform, and deſired I would give him ſome particular account of that land, which we call Europe, but eſpecially of my own country

CHAP. V.

The author, at his maſter's commands, informs him of the ſtate of England. The cauſes of war among the princes of Europe. The author begins to explain the Engliſh conſtitution.

THE reader may pleaſe to obſerve, that the following extract of my converſations I had with my maſter, contains a ſummary of the moſt material points, which were diſcourſed on at ſeveral times for above two years; his honour often deſiring fuller ſatisfaction, as I farther improved in the Houyhnhnm tongue. I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole ſtate of Europe. I diſcourſed of trade and manufactures, of arts and ſciences; and the anſwers I gave to all the queſtions he made, as they aroſe upon ſeveral ſubjects, were a fund of converſation not to be exhauſted. But I ſhall here only ſet down the ſubſtance of what paſſed between us concerning my own country, re-

ducing it into order as well as I can, without any regard to time or other circumſtances, while I ſtrictly adhere to truth. My only concern is, that I ſhall hardly be able to do juſtice to my maſter's arguments and expreſſions, which muſt needs ſuffer by my want of capacity, as well as by a tranſlation into our barbarous Engliſh.

In obedience therefore to his honour's commands, I related to him the *revolution* under the Prince of Orange; the long war with France entered into by the ſaid Prince, and renewed by his ſucceſſor the preſent Queen, wherein the greateſt powers of Chriſtendom were engaged, and which ſtill continued: I computed, at his requeſt, that about a million of *yahoos* might have been killed in the whole progreſs of it; and perhaps a hundred or more cities taken, and five times as many ſhips burnt or ſunk.

He aſked me, what were the uſual cauſes or motives that made one country go to war with another. I anſwered they were innumerable; but ſhould only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern. Sometimes the corruption of miniſters, who engage their maſter in a war, in order to ſtifle or divert the clamour of the ſubjects againſt their evil adminiſtration. Difference in opinions hath coſt many millions of lives: for inſtance, whether *fleſh* be *bread*, or *bread* be *fleſh*; whether the juice of a certain *berry* be *blood* or *wine* *; whether *whiſtling* be a vice or a virtue †; whether it be better to *kiſs* a *poſt*, or throw it into the fire ‡; what is the beſt colour for a *coat*, whether *black*, *white*, *red*, or *grey*; and whether it ſhould be *long* or *ſhort*, *narrow* or *wide*, *dirty* or *clean*, with many more **.

* Tranſubſtantiation. † Church-muſic. ‡ Kiſſing a croſs.

** The colour and make of ſacred veſtments, and different orders of Popiſh eccleſiaſtics.

Neither

Neither are any wars ſo furious and bloody, or of ſo long continuance, as thoſe occaſioned by difference in opinion, eſpecially if it be in things indifferent.

Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide, which of them ſhall diſpoſſeſs a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right. Sometimes one prince quarrelleth with another, for fear the other ſhould quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon becauſe the enemy is too *ſtrong*; and ſometimes becauſe he is too *weak*. Sometimes our neighbours *want* the *things* which we *have*, or *have* the things which we *want*; and we both fight, till they take ours, or give us theirs. It is a very juſtifiable cauſe of a war, to invade a country after the people have been waſted by famine, deſtroyed by peſtilence, or embroiled by factions among themſelves. It is juſtifiable to enter into a war againſt our neareſt ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our dominions round and compact. If a prince ſends forces into a nation, where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put the half of them to death, and make ſlaves of the reſt, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one prince deſires the aſſiſtance of another to ſecure him againſt an invaſion, that the aſſiſtant, when he hath driven out the invader, ſhould ſeize on the dominions himſelf, and kill, impriſon, or baniſh the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood, or marriage, is a frequent cauſe of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater is their diſpoſition to quarrel: *poor* nations are *hungry*, and *rich* nations are *proud*: and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For theſe reaſons the trade of a *ſoldier* is held the moſt honourable of all others; becauſe

becauſe a *ſoldier* is a *yahoo* hired to kill in cold blood as many of his own ſpecies, who have never offended him, as poſſibly he can.

There is likewiſe a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themſelves, who hire out their troops to richer nations, for ſo much a day to each man; of which they keep three-fourths to themſelves, and it is the beſt part of their maintenance; ſuch are thoſe in many *northern* parts of Europe.

What you have told me (ſaid my maſter) upon the ſubject of war, does indeed diſcover moſt admirably the effects of that reaſon you pretend to: however it is happy that the *ſhame* is greater than the *danger*; and that nature hath left you utterly incapable of doing much miſchief. For, your mouths lying flat with your faces, you can hardly bite each other to any purpoſe, unleſs by conſent. Then as to the claws upon your feet before and behind, they are ſo ſhort and tender, that one of our *yahoos* would drive a dozen of yours before him. And therefore in recounting the numbers of thoſe who have been killed in battle, I cannot but think you have *ſaid the thing which is not.*

I could not forbear ſhaking my head, and ſmiling a little at his ignorance. And being no ſtranger to the art of war, I gave him a deſcription of cannons, culverins, muſquets, carabines, piſtols, bullets, powder, ſwords, bayonets, battles, ſieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, ſea-fights, ſhips ſunk with a thouſand men, twenty thouſand killed on each ſide, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, ſmoke, noiſe, confuſion, trampling to death under horſes feet; flight, purſuit, victory; fields ſtrewed with carcaſes, left for food to dogs and wolves, and birds of prey; plundering, ſtripping, raviſhing, burning and deſtroying. And to ſet forth the valour of my own dear countrymen, I aſſured him, that I had

had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators *.

I was going on to more particulars, when my master commanded me silence. He said, whoever understood the nature of *yahoos*, might easily believe it possible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equalled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind, to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words, might by degrees admit them with less detestation. That although he hated the *yahoos* of this country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious qualities, than he did a *gnnayh* (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof. But when a creature, pretending to reason, could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded, left the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself. He seemed therefore confident, that, instead of reason, we were only

* It would perhaps be impossible, by the most laboured argument or forcible eloquence, to shew the absurd injustice and horrid cruelty of war so effectually, as by this simple exhibition of them in a new light. With war, including every species of iniquity and every art of destruction, we become familiar by degrees, under specious terms, which are seldom examined, because they are learned at an age, in which the mind implicitly receives and retains whatever is impressed. Thus it happens, that when one man murders another to gratify his lust, we shudder; but when one man murders a million to gratify his vanity, we approve and we admire, we envy and we applaud. If, when this and the preceding pages are read, we discover with astonishment, that, when the same events have occurred in history, we felt no emotion, and acquiesced in wars which we could not but know to have been commenced for such causes, and carried on by such means; let not him be censured for two much debasing his species, who has contributed to their felicity and preservation, by stripping off the veil of custom and prejudice, and holding up, in their native deformity, the vices by which they become wretched, and the arts by which they are destroyed.

possessed

poſſeſſed of ſome quality fitted to increaſe our natural vices; as the reflection from a troubled ſtream returns the image of an ill-ſhapen body, not only larger but more diſtorted.

He added, that he had heard too much upon the ſubject of war, both in this, and ſome former diſcourſes. There was another point, which a little perplexed him at preſent. I had informed him, that ſome of our crew left their country on account of being ruined by law; that I had already explained the meaning of the word; but he was at a loſs how it ſhould come to paſs, that the law, which was intended for every man's preſervation, ſhould be any man's ruin. Therefore he deſired to be farther ſatisfied what I meant by law, and the diſpenſers thereof, according to the preſent practice in my own country: becauſe he thought nature and reaſon were ſufficient guides for a reaſonable animal, as we pretend to be, in ſhewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I aſſured his honour, that law was a ſcience, in which I had not much converſed, further than by employing advocates in vain upon ſome injuſtices that had been done me; however I would give him all the ſatisfaction I was able.

I ſaid, there was a ſociety of men among us bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpoſe, that *white* is *black*, and *black* is *white*, according as they are paid *. To this ſociety all the reſt of the people are ſlaves. For example, if my neighbour hath a mind to my cow, he hires a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I muſt then hire another to defend my right; it being againſt all rules of law, that any man ſhould be allowed to ſpeak for himſelf. Now in this caſe I, who am the right owner, lie under two great diſadvantages; firſt, my lawyer, being

* As in every cauſe council are feed on both ſides, it cannot be pretended, that this account is much exaggerated.

practiſed

practiſed almoſt from his cradle in defending falſehood, is quite out of his element, when he would be an advocate for juſtice, which is an unnatural office, he always attempts with great aukwardneſs, if not with ill-will. The ſecond diſadvantage is, that my lawyer muſt proceed with great caution, or elſe he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would leſſen the practice of the law. And therefore I have but two methods to preſerve my cow. The firſt is, to gain over my adverſary's lawyer with a double fee; who will then betray his client, by inſinuating that he hath juſtice on his ſide. The ſecond way is, for my lawyer to make my cauſe appear as unjuſt as he can, by allowing the cow to belong to my adverſary; and this, if it be ſkilfully done, will certainly beſpeak the favour of the bench. Now your honour is to know, that theſe judges are perſons appointed to decide all controverſies of property, as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the moſt dexterous lawyers who are grown old or lazy; and having been byaſſed all their lives againſt truth and equity, lie under ſuch a fatal neceſſity of favouring fraud, perjury, and oppreſſion, that I have known ſome of them refuſe a large bribe from the ſide where juſtice lay, rather than injure the faculty, by doing any thing unbecoming their nature or their office.

It is a maxim among theſe lawyers, that whatever hath been done before, may legally be done again: and therefore they take ſpecial care to record all the deciſions formerly made againſt common juſtice, and the general reaſon of mankind. Theſe, under the name of *precedents*, they produce as authorities to juſtify the moſt iniquitous opinions, and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

In pleading, they ſtudiouſly avoid entering into the merits of the cauſe; but are loud, violent, and tedious, in dwelling upon all circumſtances which are

are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned: they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary hath to my cow; but whether the cow were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years come to an issue.

It is likewise to be observed, that this society hath a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falshood, of right and wrong; so that it will take thirty years to decide, whether the field left me by my ancestors for six generations, belong to me or to a stranger three hundred miles off.

In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more short and commendable: the judge first sends to sound the disposition of those in power, after which he can easily hang or save a criminal, strictly preserving all the due forms of law.

Here my master interposing, said it was a pity, that creatures endued with such prodigious abilities of mind, as these lawyers, by the description I gave of them, must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be instructors of others in wisdom and knowledge. In answer to which I assured his honour, that, in all points out of their own trade, they were usually the most ignorant and stupid generation among us, the most despicable in common conversation, avowed enemies to all knowledge and learning, and equally disposed to pervert the general reason of mankind in every other subject of discourse as in that of their own profession.

CHAP. VI.

A continuation of the ſtate of England under Queen Anne. The character of a firſt miniſter of ſtate in European courts.

MY maſter was yet wholly at a loſs to underſtand, what motives could incite this race of lawyers to perplex, diſquiet, and weary themſelves, and engage in a confederacy of injuſtice, merely for the ſake of injuring their fellow-animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in ſaying, they did it for hire. Whereupon I was at much pains to deſcribe to him the uſe of money, the materials it was made of, and the value of the metals; that when a yahoo had got a great ſtore of this precious ſubſtence, he was able to purchaſe whatever he had a mind to, the fineſt clothing, the nobleſt houſes, great tracts of land, the moſt coſtly meats and drinks; and have his choice of the moſt beautiful females. Therefore, ſince money alone was able to perform all theſe feats, our yahoos though they could never have enough of it to ſpend, or to ſave, as they found themſelves inclined from their natural bent either to profuſion or avarice. That the rich man enjoyed the fruit of the poor man's labour, and the latter were a thouſand to one in proportion to the former. That the bulk of our people were forced to live miſerably, by labouring every day for ſmall wages, to make a few live plentifully. I enlarged myſelf much on theſe and many other particulars to the ſame purpoſe: but his honour was ſtill to ſeek; for he went upon a ſuppoſition, that all animals had a title to their ſhare in the production of the earth, and eſpecially thoſe

who presided over the rest. Therefore he desired I would let him know, what these costly meats were, and how any of us happened to want them. Whereupon I enumerated as many sorts as came into my head, with the various methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending vessels by sea to every part of the world, as well for liquors to drink, as for sauces, and innumerable other conveniences. I assured him that this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone round, before one of our better female yahoos could get her breakfast, or a cup to put it in. He said that must needs be a miserable country, which cannot furnish food for its own inhabitants. But what he chiefly wondered at was, how such vast tracts of ground, as I described, should be wholly without fresh water, and the people put to the necessity of sending over the sea for drink. I replied that England (the dear place of my nativity,) was computed to produce three times the quantity of food, more than its inhabitants are able to consume as well as liquors extracted from grain, or pressed out of the fruit of certain trees, which made excellent drink; and the same proportion in every other convenience of life. But in order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males, and the vanity of the females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, from whence we in return brought the materials of disease, folly, and vice, to spend among ourselves. Hence it follows of necessity, that vast numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, stealing, cheating, pimping, flattering, suborning, forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, hectoring, voting, scribling, star-gazing, poisoning, whoring, canting, libelling, free-thinking, and the like occupations: every one of which terms I was at much pains to make him understand.

Tha

That wine was not imported among us from foreign countries to supply the want of water, or other drinks, but because it was a sort of liquid which made us merry, by putting us out of our senses, diverted all melancholy thoughts, begat wild extravagant imaginations in the brain, raised our hopes, and banished our fears; suspended every office of reason for a time, and deprived us of the use of our limbs, till we fell into a profound sleep: although it must be confessed, that we always awaked sick and dispirited; and that the use of this liquor filled us with diseases, which made our lives uncomfortable and short *.

But besides all this, the bulk of our people supported themselves by furnishing the necessities or conveniencies of life to the rich, and to each other. For instance, when I am at home, and dressed as I ought to be, I carry on my body the workmanship of an hundred tradesmen; the building and furniture of my house employ as many more, and five times the number to adorn my wife.

I was going on to tell him of another sort of people, who get their livelihood by attending the sick, having upon some occasions informed his honour, that many of my crew had died of diseases. But here it was with the utmost difficulty, that I brought him to apprehend what I meant. He could easily conceive, that a Houyhnhnm grew weak and heavy a few days before his death, or by some accident might hurt a limb: but that Nature, who works all things to perfection, should suffer any pains to breed in our bodies, he thought impossible, and desired to know the reason of so unaccountable an evil. I told him, we fed on a thousand things, which operated contrary to each other; that we eat when we were not hungry, and drank without the

* This account excites ideas of drunkenness, very different from those which are conceived under the terms by which it is generally expressed.

provocation of thirſt; that we ſat whole nights drinking ſtrong liquors without eating a bit, which diſpoſed us to ſloth, inflamed our bodies, and precipitated or prevented digeſtion. That proſtitute female yahoos acquired a certain malady, which bred rottenneſs in the bones of thoſe who fell into their embraces; that this and many other diſeaſes were propagated from father to ſon; ſo that great numbers come into the world with complicated maladies upon them: that it would be endleſs to give him a catalogue of all diſeaſes incident to human bodies; for they could not be fewer than five or ſix hundred ſpead over every limb and joint; in ſhort, every part, external and inteſtine, having diſeaſes appropriated to itſelf. To remedy which there was a ſort of people bred up among us in the profeſſion, or pretence, of curing the ſick. And becauſe I had ſome ſkill in the faculty, I would, in gratitude to his honour, let him know the whole myſtery and method, by which they proceed.

Their fundamental is, that all diſeaſes ariſe from repletion; from whence they conclude, that a great evacuation of the body is neceſſary either through the natural paſſage, or upwards at the mouth. Their next buſineſs is from herbs, minerals, gums, oils, ſhells, ſalts, juices, ſea-weed, excrements, barks of trees, ſerpents, toads, frogs, ſpiders, dead mens fleſh and bones, birds, beaſts, and fiſhes, to form a compoſition for ſmell and taſte the moſt abominable, nauſeous, and deteſtable, they can poſſibly contrive, which the ſtomach immediately rejects with loathing; and this they call a *vomit*: or elſe from the ſame ſtore-houſe, with ſome other poiſonous additions, they command us to take in at the orifice above or below (juſt as the phyſician then happens to be diſpoſed,) a medicine equally annoying and diſguſtful to the bowels; which, relaxing the belly, drives down all before it; and this they call a *purge* or a *clyſter*. For Nature (as the phyſicians.

phyſicians alledge,) having intended the ſuperior anterior orifice only for the intromiſſion of ſolids and liquids, and the inferior poſterior for ejection; theſe artiſts ingeniouſly conſidering that in all diſeaſes Nature is forced out of her ſeat, therefore to replace her in it, the body muſt be treated in a manner directly contrary, by interchanging the uſe of each orifice; forcing ſolids and liquids in at the *anus*, and making evacuations at the mouth.

But beſides real diſeaſes, we are ſubject to many that are only imaginary, for which the phyſicians have invented imaginary cures: theſe have their ſeveral names, and to have the drugs that are proper for them; and with theſe our female yahoos are always infeſted.

One great excellency in this tribe is their ſkill at prognoſtics, wherein they ſeldom fail; their predictions in real diſeaſes, when they riſe to any degree of malignity, generally portending death, which is always in their power, when recovery is at: and therefore, upon any unexpected ſigns of amendment after they have pronounced their ſentence, rather than be accuſed for falſe prophets, they know how to approve their ſagacity to the world by a ſeaſonable doſe.

They are likewiſe of ſpecial uſe to huſbands and wives, who are grown weary of their mates: to elder ſons, to great miniſters of ſtate, and often to princes.

I had formerly upon occaſion diſcourſed with my maſter upon the nature of government in general, and particularly of our own excellent conſtitution, deſervedly the wonder and envy of the whole world. But having here accidentally mentioned a miniſter of ſtate, he commanded me ſome time after to inform him, what ſpecies of yahoo I particularly meant by that appellation.

I told him, that a firſt or chief miniſter of ſtate, who was the perſon I intended to deſcribe, was a

creature wholly exempt from joy and grief, love and hatred, pity and anger; at leaſt makes uſe of no other paſſions, but a violent deſire of wealth, power, and titles; that he applies his words to all uſes, except to the indication of his mind; that he never tells a truth but with an intent that you ſhould take it for a lie; nor a lie, but with a deſign that you ſhould take it for a truth; that thoſe he ſpeaks worſt of behind their backs, are in the ſureſt way of preferment; and whenever he begins to praiſe you to others, or to yourſelf, you are from that day forlorn. The worſt mark you can receive is a promiſe, eſpecially when it is confirmed with an oath; after which every wiſe man retires, and gives over all hopes.

There are three methods, by which a man may riſe to be chief miniſter. The firſt is, by knowing how with prudence to diſpoſe of a wife, a daughter, or a ſiſter; the ſecond, by betraying or undermining his predeceſſor; and the third is, by a furious zeal in public aſſemblies againſt the corruptions of the court. But a wiſe prince would rather chooſe to employ thoſe, who practiſe the laſt of theſe methods because ſuch zealots prove always the moſt obſequious and ſubſervient to the will and paſſions of their maſter. That theſe miniſters, having all employments at their diſpoſal, preſerve themſelves in power, by bribing the majority of a ſenate or great council; and at laſt by an expedient, called an *act of indemnity*, (whereof I deſcribed the nature to him,) they ſecure themſelves from after-reckonings, and retire from the public, laden with the ſpoils of the nation.

The palace of a chief miniſter is a ſeminary to breed up others in his own trade: the pages, lacquies, and porter, by imitating their maſter, become miniſters of ſtate in their ſeveral diſtricts, and learn to excel in the three principal ingredients, of inſolence, lying, and bribery. Accordingly they have a ſubaltern

a ſubaltern court paid to them by perſons of the beſt rank; and ſometimes, by the force of dexterity and impudence, arrive, through ſeveral gradations, to be ſucceſſor to their lord.

He is uſually governed by a decayed wench, or favourite footman, who are the funnels through which all graces are conveyed, and may properly be called, in the laſt reſort, the governors of the kingdom. One day in diſcourſe, my maſter having heard me mention the nobility of my country, was pleaſed to make me a compliment, which I could not pretend to deſerve: that he was ſure I muſt have been born of ſome noble family, becauſe I far exceeded in ſhape, colour, and cleanlineſs, all the yahoos of this nation, although I ſeemed to fail in ſtrength and agility, which muſt be imputed to my different way of living from thoſe other brutes; and beſides I was not only endued with the faculty of ſpeech, but likewiſe with ſome rudiments of reaſon, to a degree, that with all his acquaintance I paſſed for a prodigy.

He made me obſerve, that among the Houyhnhnms, the white, the ſorrel, and the iron grey, were not ſo exactly ſhaped as the bay, the dapple grey, and the black; nor born with equal talents of mind, or a capacity to improve them; and therefore continued always in the condition of ſervants, without ever aſpiring to match out of their own race, which in that country would be reckoned monſtrous and unnatural.

I made his honour my moſt humble acknowledgements for the good opinion he was pleaſed to conceive of me; but aſſured him, at the ſame time, that my birth was of the lower ſort, having been born of plain honeſt parents, who were juſt able to give me a tolerable education; that nobility among us was altogether a different thing from the idea he had of it; that our young noblemen are bred from their childhood in idleneſs and luxury; that, as

ſoon

ſoon as years will permit, they conſume their vigour, and contract odious diſeaſes among lewd females; and when their fortunes are almoſt ruined, they marry ſome woman of mean birth, diſagreeable perſon, and unſound conſtitution, merely for the ſake of money, whom they hate and deſpiſe. That the productions of ſuch marriages are generally ſcrophulous, rickety, or deformed children; by which means the family ſeldom continues above three generations, unleſs the wife takes care to provide a healthy father among her neighbours or domeſtics, in order to improve and continue the breed: That a weak diſeaſed body, a meagre countenance, and ſallow complexion, are the true marks of noble blood; and a healthy robuſt appearance, is ſo diſgraceful in a man of quality, that the world concludes his real father to have been a groom, or a coachman. The imperfections of his mind run parallel with thoſe of his body, being a compoſition of ſpleen, dulneſs, ignorance, caprice, ſenſuality, and pride.

Without the conſent of this illuſtrious body, no law can be enacted, repealed, or altered; and theſe nobles have likewiſe the deciſions of all our poſſeſſions, without appeal.

CHAP. VII.

The author's great love of his native country. His maſter's obſervations upon the conſtitution and adminiſtration of England, as deſcribed by the author with parallel caſes and compariſons. His maſter's obſervations upon human nature.

THE reader may be diſpoſed to wonder, how I could prevail on myſelf to give a true repreſentation

tion of my own ſpecies among a race of mortals, who are already too apt to conceive the vileſt opinion of human kind from that intire congruity betwixt me and their *yahoos*. But I muſt freely confeſs, that the many virtues of thoſe excellent *quadrupeds*, placed in oppoſite view to human corruptions, had ſo far opened my eyes, and enlarged my underſtanding, that I began to view the actions and paſſions of man in a very different light; and to think the honour of my own kind not worth managing; which beſides it was impoſſible for me to do before a perſon of ſo acute a judgement as my maſter, who daily convinced me of a thouſand faults in myſelf, whereof I had not the leaſt perception before, and which with us would never be numbered even among human infirmities. I had likewiſe learned from his example an utter deteſtation of all falſehood or diſguiſe; and *truth* appeared ſo amiable to me, that I determined upon ſacrificing every thing to it.

Let me deal ſo candidly with the reader as to confeſs that there was a much ſtronger motive for the freedom I took in my repreſentation of things. I had not been a year in this country, before I contracted ſuch a love and veneration for the inhabitants, that I entered on a firm reſolution never to return to human kind, but to paſs the reſt of my life among theſe admirable Houyhnhnms in the contemplation and practice of every virtue, where I could have no example or incitement to vice. But it was decreed by fortune, my perpetual enemy, that ſo great a felicity ſhould not fall to my ſhare. However, it is now ſome comfort to reflect, that, in what I ſaid of my countrymen, I *extenuated* their faults as much as I durſt before ſo ſtrict an examiner; and upon every article gave as *favourable* a turn as the matter would bear. For indeed who is there alive, that will not be ſwayed by his byaſs and partiality to the place of his birth.

I have

I have related the ſubſtance of ſeveral converſations I had with my maſter, during the greater part of the time I had the honour to be in his ſervice; but have indeed, for brevity's ſake, omitted much more than is here ſet down.

When I had anſwered all his queſtions, and his curioſity ſeemed to be fully ſatisfied, he ſent for me one morning early, and commanding me to ſit down at ſome diſtance (an honour which he had never before conferred upon me), he ſaid, he had been very ſeriouſly conſidering my whole ſtory, ſo far as it related both to myſelf and country: that he looked upon us as a ſort of animals, to whoſe ſhare, by what accident he could not conjecture, ſome ſmall pittance of *reaſon* had fallen, whereof we made no other uſe, than by its aſſiſtance to aggravate our *natural* corruptions, and to acquire new ones, which nature had not given us: that we diſarmed ourſelves of the few abilities ſhe had beſtowed; had been very ſucceſsful in multiplying our original wants, and ſeemed to ſpend our whole lives in vain endeavours to ſupply them by our own inventions. That as to myſelf it was manifeſt, I had neither the ſtrength or agility of a common *yahoo*; that I walked infirmly on my hinder feet; had found out contrivance to make my claws of no uſe or defence, and to remove the hair from my chin, which was intended as a ſhelter from the ſun and the weather. Laſtly, That I could neither run with ſpeed, nor climb trees like my *brethren* (as he called them), the *yahoos* in this country.

That our inſtitutions of *government* and *law* were plainly owing to our groſs defects in *reaſon*, and by conſequence in *virtue*; becauſe *reaſon* alone is ſufficient to govern a *rational* creature; which was therefore a character we had no pretence to challenge, even from the account I had given of my own people: although he manifeſtly perceived, that in order to favour them, I had concealed many particulars

rticulars, and often *faid the thing which was not*. He was the more confirmed in this opinion beuſe he obſerved, that as I agreed in every feature my body with other *yahoos*, except where it was my real diſadvantage, in point of ſtrength, ſpeed d activity, the ſhortneſs of my claws, and ſome her particulars where nature had no part; ſo from e repreſentation I had given him of our lives, our anners, and our actions, he found as near a reſemlance in the diſpoſition of our minds. He ſaid e *yahoos* were known to hate one another, more an they did any different ſpecies of animals; and e reaſon uſually aſſigned was, the odiouſneſs of eir own ſhapes, which all could ſee in the reſt but ot in themſelves. He had therefore begun to ink it not unwiſe in us to *cover* our bodies, and that invention conceal many of our deformities om each other, which would elſe be hardly ſuportable. But he now found he had been miſken, and that the diſſenſions of thoſe brutes his country were owing to the ſame cauſe ith ours, as I had deſcribed them. For if (ſaid e) you throw among five *yahoos* as much food as ould be ſufficient for fifty, they will, inſtead of ting peaceably, fall together by the ears, each fine one impatient to *have all to itſelf*; and therefore ſervant was uſually employed to ſtand by while ey were feeding abroad, and thoſe kept at home ere tied at a diſtance from each other; that if a w died of age or accident, before a Houyhnhnm uld ſecure it for his own *yahoos*, thoſe in the neighburhood would come in herds to ſeize it, and then ould enſue ſuch a battle as I had deſcribed, with rrible wounds made by their claws on both ſides, though they ſeldom were able to kill one another r want of ſuch convenient inſtruments of death we had invented. At other times the like bates have been fought between the *yahoos* of ſeveral ighbourhoods without any viſible cauſe: thoſe of one

one district watching all opportunities to surprise th next, before they are prepared But if they fin their project hath miscarried, they return hom and, for want of enemies, engage in what I call civil war among themselves.

That in some fields of his country there are cer tain *shining stones* of several colours, whereof th *yahoos* are violently fond; and when part of the stones is fixed in the earth, as it sometimes happer eth, they will dig with their claws for whole days t get them out; then carry them away and hide the by heaps in their kennels; but still looking round wit great caution, for fear their comrades should find ou their treasure. My master said, he could neve discover the reason of this unnatural appetite, c how these stones could be of any use to a yahoo but now he believed it might proceed from the sam principle of avarice, which I had ascribed to mar kind: that he had once, by way of experimen privately removed a heap of these stones from th place where one of his *yahoos* had buried it; where upon the sordid animal, missing his treasure, by h loud lamenting brought the whole herd to the place there miserably howled, then fell to biting and tear ing the rest; began to pine away, would neither ea nor sleep, nor work, till he ordered a servant pri vately to convey the *stones* into the same hole, an hide them as before; which when his *yahoo* ha found, he presently recovered his spirits, and goo humour, but took care to remove them to a bette hiding-place, and hath ever since been a very ser viceable brute*.

My master farther assured me, which I also ob served myself, that in the fields where the *shining stones* abound, the fiercest and most frequent battle are fought, occasioned by perpetual inroads of th neighbouring *yahoos*.

* Nothing can be said to make avarice a greater reproach to mankind, except that it is a vice which this description will not cure.

He said, it was common, when two *yahoos* discovered such a *stone* in a field, and were contending which of them should be the proprietor, a third would take the advantage, and carry it away from them both; which my master would needs contend to have some kind of resemblance with our *suits at law*; wherein I thought it for our credit not to undeceive him; since the decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many degrees among us; because the plaintiff and defendant there lost nothing beside the *stone* they contended for, whereas our *courts of equity* would never have dismissed the cause, while either of them had any thing left.

My master continuing his discourse, said, there was nothing that rendered the *yahoos* more odious, than their undistinguishing appetite to devour every thing that came in their way, whether herbs, roots, berries, the corrupted flesh of animals, or all mingled together: and it was peculiar in their temper, that they were fonder of what they could get by spine or stealth at a greater distance, than much better food provided for them at home. If their prey held out, they would eat till they were ready to burst, after which nature had pointed out to them a certain *root* that gave them a general evacuation.

There was also another kind of *root*, very *juicy*, but somewhat rare and difficult to be found, which the *yahoos* sought for with much eagerness, and would suck it with great delight; it produced in them the same effects, that wine hath upon us. It would make them sometimes hug, and sometimes tear one another; they would howl, and grin, and chatter, and reel, and tumble, and then fall asleep in the mud.

I did indeed observe, that the *yahoos* were the only animals in this country subject to any diseases; which however were much fewer than horses have among us, and contracted not by any ill treatment

they meet with, but by the naſtineſs and greedine
of that ſordid brute. Neither has their langua
any more than a general appellation for thoſe m
ladies, which is borrowed from the name of t
beaſt, and called *hnea-yahoo* or the *yahoo's evil*, a
the cure preſcribed is a mixture of *their own du*
and *urine*, forcibly put down the *yahoo's* thro
This I have ſince often known to have been tak
with ſucceſs, and do here freely recommend it
my countrymen, for the public-good, as an a
mirable ſpecific againſt all diſeaſes produced by r
pletion.

As to learning, government, arts, manufactur
and the like, my maſter confeſſed, he could fi
little or no reſemblance between the *yahoos* of th
country and thoſe in ours. For he only meant
obſerve, what parity there was in our natures. H
had heard indeed ſome curious Houyhnhnms o
ſerve, that in moſt herds there was a ſort of ruli
yahoo (as among us there is generally ſome leadi
or principal ſtag in a park) who was always mo
deformed in body, and *miſchievous in diſpoſition*, th
any of the reſt. That this *leader* had uſually a f
vourite as *like himſelf* as he could get, whoſe er
ployment was to *lick his maſter's feet and poſterio*
and drive the female yahoos *to his kennel* *; f
which he was now and then rewarded with a pie
of aſs's fleſh. This *favourite* is hated by the who
herd; and therefore to protect himſelf keeps a
ways *near the perſon of his leader*. He uſually co
tinues in office, till a worſe can be found; but t
very moment he is diſcarded, his ſucceſſor at t
head of all the *yahoos* in that diſtrict, young ar
old, male and female, come into a body, and di
charge their excrement upon him from head
foot. But how far this might be applicable to ou

* Flattery and pimping.

cour

courts and *favourites*, and *miniſters of ſtate*, my maſter ſaid I could beſt determine.

I durſt make no return to this malicious inſinuation, which debaſed human underſtanding below the ſagacity of a common *hound*, who hath judgement enough to diſtinguiſh and follow the cry of the *ableſt dog in the pack*, without being ever miſtaken.

My maſter told me there was ſome qualities remarkable in the *yahoos*, which he had not obſerved me to mention, or at leaſt very ſlightly, in the accounts I had given him of human kind; he ſaid, thoſe animals, like other brutes, had their females in common; but in this they differed, that the ſhe yahoo would admit the male, while ſhe was pregnant; and that the hees would quarrel and fight with the females, as fiercely as with each other; both with practices were ſuch degrees of infamous brutality, as no other ſenſative creature elſe arrived at.

Another thing he wondered at in the *yahoo*, was their ſtrange diſpoſition to naſtineſs and dirt; whereas there appears to be a natural love of cleanlineſs in all other animals. As to the two former accuſations, I was glad to let them paſs without any reply, becauſe I had not a word to offer upon them in defence of my ſpecies, which otherwiſe I certainly had done from my own inclinations. But could have eaſily vindicated human kind from the imputation of ſingularity upon the laſt article, if there had been any *ſwine* in that country (as unluckily for me there were not), which, although it may be a *ſweeter quadruped* than a *yahoo*, cannot, I humbly conceive, in juſtice, pretend to more cleanlineſs; and ſo his honour himſelf muſt have owned, if he had ſeen their filthy way of feeding, and their cuſtom of wallowing and ſleeping in the mud.

My maſter likewiſe mentioned another quality,

which his ſervants had diſcovered in ſeveral *yahoos* and to him was wholly unaccountable. He ſaid, fancy would ſometimes take a *yahoo* to retire int a corner, to lie down, and howl and groan, an ſpurn away all that came near him, although h were young and fat, wanted neither food nor wa ter; nor did the ſervants imagine what could poſ ſibly ail him. And the only remedy they foun was to ſet him to hard work, after which he woul infallibly come to himſelf. To this I was ſilen out of partiality to my own kind; yet here I coul plainly diſcover the true ſeeds of *ſpleen*, which onl ſeizeth on the *lazy*, the *luxurious* and the *rich* who if they were forced to undergo the *ſame reg men*, I would undertake for the cure.

His honour had farther obſerved, that a femal *yahoo* would often ſtand behind a bank or a buſ to gaze on the young males paſſing by, and the appear, and hide, uſing many antic geſtures an grimaces, at which time it was obſerved that ſh had a moſt *offenſive ſmell*; and when any of th males advanced, would ſlowly retire, looking ofte back, and with a counterfeit ſhew of fear run o into ſome convenient place, where ſhe knew th male would follow her.

At other times, if a female ſtranger came amon them, three or four of her own ſex would get a bout her, and ſtare, and chatter, and grin, an ſmell her all over; and then turn off, with geſture that ſeamed to expreſs contempt and diſdain.

Perhaps my maſter might refine a little on thei ſpeculations, which he had drawn from what h obſerved himſelf, or had been told him by others however I could not reflect without ſome amaze ment and much ſorow, that the rudiments of *lewd neſs*, *coquetry*, *cenſure* and *ſcandal* ſhould have plac by inſtinct in womankind.

I expected every moment, that my maſter woul accuſe the *yahoos* of thoſe unnatural appetites i both

both sexes, so common among us. But nature, it seems, hath not been so expert a school mistress; and these politer pleasures are entirely the productions of art and reason on our side of the globe.

CHAP. VIII.

The author relates several particulars of the yahoos. *The great virtues of the Houyhnhnms. The education and exercise of their youth. Their general assembly.*

AS I ought to have understood human nature much better, than I supposed it possible for my master to do, so it was easy to apply the character he gave of the *yahoos* to myself and my countrymen; and I believed, I could yet make further discoveries from my own observation. I therefore often begged his honour to let me go among the herds of *yahoos* in the neighbourhood, to which he always very graciously consented, being perfectly convinced, that the hatred I bore these brutes would never suffer me to be corrupted by them; and his honour ordered one of his servants, a strong sorrel-nag, very honest and good-natured, to be my guard, without whose protection I durst not undertake such adventures. For I have already told the reader, how much I was pestered by those odious animals upon my first arrival. And I afterwards failed very narrowly three or four times of falling into their clutches, when I happened to stray at any distance without my hanger. And I have reason to believe they had some imagination that I was of their own species, which I often assisted myself, by stripping up my sleeves, and shewing my naked arms and breast in their sight,

when my protector was with me. At which times they would approach as near as they durſt, and imitate my actions after the manner of monkies, but ever with great ſigns of hatred; as a tame *jackdaw* with cap and ſtocking is always perſecuted by the wild ones, when he happens to be got among them.

They are prodigiouſly nimble from their infancy; however I once caught a young male of three years old, and endeavoured by all marks of tenderneſs to make it quiet; but the little imp fell a ſqualling, and ſcratching, and biting, with ſuch violence, that I was forced to let it go; and it was high time; for a whole troop of old ones came about us at the noiſe; but finding the cub was ſafe (for away it ran), and my ſorrel nag being by, they durſt not venture near us. I obſerved the young animal's fleſh to ſmell very rank, and the ſtink was ſomewhat beyond a *weaſel* and a *fox*, but much more diſagreeable. I forgot another circumſtance (and perhaps I might have the reader's pardon, if it were wholly omitted), that while I held the odious vermin in my hands, it voided its filthy excrements, of a yellow liquid ſubſtance, all over my cloaths; but by good fortune there was a ſmall brook hard by, where I waſhed myſelf as clean as I could; although I durſt not come into my maſter's preſence, until I were ſufficiently aired.

By what I could diſcover, the *yahoos* appear to be the moſt unteachable of all animals; their capacities never reaching higher than to draw or carry burdens. Yet I am of opinion, this defect ariſeth chiefly from a perverſe, reſtive diſpoſition: For they are cunning, malicious, treacherous, and revengeful. They are ſtrong and hardy, but of cowardly ſpirit, and by conſequence inſolent, abject, and cruel. It is obſerved, that the red-haired of both ſexes are more libidinous and miſchievous than

than the reſt, whom yet they much exceed in ſtrength and activity.

The Houyhnhnms keep the yahoos for preſent uſe in huts not far from the houſe; but the reſt are ſent abroad to certain fields, where they dig up roots, eat ſeveral kinds of herbs, and ſearch about for carrion, or ſometimes catch weaſels and *lubimbu* (a ſort of wild rat), which they greedily devour. Nature hath taught them to dig deep holes with their nails on the ſide of a riſing ground, wherein they lie by themſelves; only the kennels of the females are larger, ſufficient to hold two or three cubs.

They ſwim from their infancy like frogs, and are able to continue long under water, where they often take fiſh, which the females carry home to their young. And upon this occaſion I hope the reader will pardon my relating an odd adventure.

Being one day abroad with my protector, the ſorrel-nag, and the weather exceeding hot, I intreated him to let me bathe in a river that was near. He conſented, and I immediately ſtripped myſelf ſtark-naked, and went down ſoftly into the ſtream. It happened that a young female yahoo, ſtanding behind a bank, ſaw the whole proceeding, and inflamed by deſire, as the nag and I conjectured, came running with all ſpeed, and leaped into the water within five yards of the place where I bathed. I was never in my life ſo terribly frighted; the nag was gazing at ſome diſtance, not ſuſpecting any harm. She embraced me, after a moſt fulſome manner: I roared as loud as I could, and the nag came galloping towards me; whereupon ſhe quitted her graſp with the utmoſt reluctancy, and leaped upon the oppoſite bank, where ſhe ſtood gazing and howling all the time I was putting on my cloaths.

This was a matter of diverſion to my maſter and his family, as well as of mortification to myſelf.

For

For now I could no longer deny, that I was a real yahoo in every limb and feature, ſince the females had a natural propenſity to me, as one of their own ſpecies: neither was the hair of this brute of a red colour (which might have been ſome excuſe for an appetite a little irregular), but black as a ſloe, and her countenance did not make an appearance altogether ſo hideous as the reſt of her kind; for, I think, ſhe could not be above eleven years old.

Having lived three years in this country, the reader, I ſuppoſe, will expect, that I ſhould, like other travellers, give him ſome account of the manners and cuſtoms of its inhabitants, which it was indeed my principal ſtudy to learn.

As theſe noble Houyhnhnms are endued by nature with a general diſpoſition to all virtues, and have no conceptions or ideas of what is evil in a rational creature; ſo their grand maxim is, to cultivate reaſon, and to be wholly governed by it. Neither is reaſon among them a point problematical, as with us, where men can argue with plauſibility on both ſides of a queſtion; but ſtrikes you with immediate conviction; as it muſt needs do, where it is not mingled, obſcured, or diſcoloured, by paſſion and intereſt. I remember it was with extreme difficulty, that I could bring my maſter to underſtand the meaning of the word *opinion*, or how a point could be diſputable; becauſe reaſon taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain; and beyond our knowledge we cannot do either: So that controverſies, wranglings, diſputes, and poſitiveneſs, in falſe or dubious propoſitions, are evils unknown among the Houyhnhnms. In the like manner, when I uſed to explain to him our ſeveral ſyſtems of natural philoſophy, he would laugh, that a creature pretending to reaſon, ſhould value itſelf upon the knowledge of other people's conjectures, and in things where that knowledge,

if

if it were certain, could be of no use: wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them; which I mention as the highest honour I can do that prince of philosophers. I have often since reflected, what destruction such a doctrine would make in the libraries of Europe; and how many paths to fame would be then shut up in the learned world.

Friendship and benevolence are the two principal virtues among the Houyhnhnms *; and these not confined to particular objects, but universal, to the whole race. For a stranger from the remotest parts is equally treated with the nearest neighbour; and where-ever he goes, looks upon himself as at home. They preserve decency and civility in the highest degrees; but are altogether ignorant of ceremony. They have no fondness for their colts or foles; but the care they take in educating them, proceedeth entirely from the dictates of reason †. And I observed my master to shew the same affection to his neighbour's issue, that he had for his own. They will have it, that Nature teaches them to love the whole species, and it is reason only that maketh a distinction of persons, where there is a superior degree of virtue ‡.

When the matron Houyhnhnms have produced one of each sex, they no longer accompany with their consorts, except they lose one of their issue

* Their virtuous qualities are only negative. *Orrery.*

† We here view the pure instincts of brutes, acting in their narrow sphere, merely for their immediate preservation. *Orrery.*

‡ It may perhaps be thought somewhat strange, that the sense of the noble Commentator should appear to be directly opposite to that of the author, in the passages which these notes were intended to illustrate. But this apparent opposition may arise merely from their using the same word in an opposite sense; as by the word *candour*, his Lordship always means a quality which inclines a man to put the worst construction upon the words and actions of another; and by candour, the Dean always means just the contrary.

Compare the note from Orrery, in Gulliver's Travels, vol. iv. p. 363. with Swift's apology for the Tale of a Tub, in vol. i. p. 2.

by ſome caſualty, which very ſeldom happens: but in ſuch a caſe they meet again; or when the like accident befals a perſon whoſe wife is paſt bearing, ſome other couple beſtow on him one of their own colts, and then go together again until the mother is pregnant. The caution is neceſſary to prevent the country from being over burdened with numbers. But the race of inferior Houyhnhnms, bred up to be ſervants, is not ſo ſtrictly limited upon this article; theſe are allowed to produce three of each ſex to be domeſtics in the noble families.

In their marriages, they are exactly careful to chooſe ſuch colours as will not make any diſagreeable mixture in the breed. Strength is chiefly valued in the male, and comelineſs in the female; not upon the account of love, but to preſerve the race from degenerating; for where a female happens to excel in ſtrength, a conſort it choſen with regard to comelineſs.

Courtſhip, love, preſents, jointures, ſettlements, have no place in their thoughts; or terms whereby to expreſs them in their language. The young couple meet and are joined, merely becauſe it is the determination of their parents and friends: it is what they ſee done every day, and they look upon it as one of the neceſſary actions of a reaſonable being. But the violation of marriage, or any other unchaſtity, was never heard of; and the married pair paſs their lives with the ſame friendſhip, and mutual benevolence, that they bear to others of the ſame ſpecies who come in their way; without jealouſy, fondneſs, quarrelling, or diſcontent.

In educating the youth of both ſexes, their method is admirable, and highly deſerveth our imitation. Theſe are not ſuffered to taſte a grain of oats, except upon certain days, till eighteen years old; nor milk, but very rarely; and in ſummer they graze two hours in the morning, and as many in the evening, which their parents likewiſe obſerve;

ſerve; but the ſervants are not allowed above half that time, and a great part of their graſs is brought home, which they eat at the moſt convenient hours, when they can be beſt ſpared from work.

Temperance, induſtry, exerciſe, and cleanlineſs, are the leſſons equally enjoined to the young ones of both ſexes: and my maſter thought it monſtrous in us to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in ſome articles of domeſtic management; whereby, as he truly obſerved, one half of our natives were good for nothing but bringing children into the world; and to truſt the care of our children to ſuch uſeleſs animals, he ſaid, was yet a greater inſtance of brutality.

But the Houyhnhnms train up their youth to ſtrength, ſpeed, and hardineſs, by exerciſing them in running races up and down ſteep hills, and over hard ſtony grounds, and when they are all in a ſweat, they are ordered to leap over head and ears into a pond or river. Four times a year the youth of a certain diſtrict meet to ſhew their proficiency in running and leaping, and other feats of ſtrength and agility; where the victor is rewarded, with a ſong in his or her praiſe. On this feſtival the ſervants drive a herd of yahoos into the field, laden with hay, and oats, and milk, for a repaſt to the Houyhnhnms; after which theſe brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noiſome to the aſſembly.

Every fourth year, at the vernal equinox, there is a repreſentative council of the whole nation, which meets in a plain about twenty miles from our houſe, and continueth about five or ſix days. Here they inquire into the ſtate and condition of the ſeveral diſtricts; whether they abound, or be deficient in hay or oats, or cows or yahoos? and wherever there is any want, (which is but ſeldom,) it is immediately ſupplied by unanimous conſent and contribution. Here likewiſe the regulation of children

dren is settled: as for instance, if a Houyhnhnm hath two males, he changeth one of them with another that hath two females: and when a child hath been lost by any casualty, where the mother is past breeding, it is determined what family in the district shall breed another to supply the loss.

CHAP. IX.

A grand debate at the general assembly of the Houyhnhnms, and how it was determined. The learning of the Houyhnhnms. Their buildings. Their manner of burials. The defectiveness of their language.

ONE of these grand assemblies was held in my time, about three months before my departure, whither my master went as the representative of our district. In this council was resumed their old debate, and indeed the only debate that ever happened in their country; whereof my master after his return gave me a very particular account.

The question he debated was, whether the yahoos should be exterminated from the face of the earth. One of the members for the affirmative, offered several arguments of great strength and weight; alledging, that as the yahoos were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed animal which Nature ever produced, so they were the most restive and indocile, mischievous, and malicious: they would privately suck the teats of the Houyhnhnms cows, kill and devour their cats, trample down their oats and grass, if they were not continually watched; and commit a thousand other extravagancies. He took notice of a general tradition, that yahoos had not been always in their country; but that, many ages ago, two of these brutes appeared together

upon a mountain; whether produced by the heat of the ſun upon corrupted mud and ſlime, or from the ooze and froth of the ſea, was never known: that theſe yahoos engendered, and their brood, in a ſhort time, grew ſo numerous as to over run and infeſt the whole nation: that the Houyhnhnms, to get rid of this evil, made a general hunting, and at laſt incloſed the whole herd; and, deſtroying the elder, every Houyhnhnm kept two young ones in a kennel, and brought them to ſuch a degree of tameneſs, as an animal ſo ſavage by nature can be capable of acquiring; uſing them for draught and carriage: that there ſeemed to be much truth in this tradition, and that thoſe creatures could not be *Yhnhnialmſky*, or *aborigines* of the land,) becauſe of the violent hatred the Houyhnhnms, as well as all other animals, bore them; which, although their evil diſpoſition ſufficiently deſerved, could never have arrived at ſo high a degree, if they had been Aborigines; or elſe they would have long ſince been routed out: that the inhabitants, taking a fancy to uſe the ſervice of the yahoos, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the breed of aſſes, which are a comely animal, eaſily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offenſive ſmell, ſtrong enough for labour, although they yield to the other in agility of body; and, if their braying be no agreeable ſound, it is far preferable to the horrible howlings of the yahoos.

Several others declared their ſentiments to the ſame purpoſe, when my maſter propoſed an expedient to the aſſembly, whereof he had indeed borrowed the hint from me. He approved of the tradition mentioned by the honourable member, who ſpoke before; and affirmed, that the two yahoos, ſaid to be the firſt ſeen among them, had been driven thither over the ſea; that, coming to land, and being forſaken by their companions, they retired to the mountains, and, degenerating by de-

grees, became in proceſs of time much more ſavage, than thoſe of their own ſpecies in the country from whence theſe two originals came. The reaſon of this aſſertion was, that he had now in his poſſeſſion a certain wonderful yahoo, (meaning myſelf,) which moſt of them had heard of, and many of them had ſeen. He then related to them how he firſt found me: that my body was all covered with an artificial compoſure of the ſkins and hairs of other animals: that I ſpoke in a language of my own, and had thoroughly learned theirs: that I had related to him the accidents which brought me thither; that, when he ſaw me without my covering, I was an exact yahoo in every part only of a whiter colour, leſs hairy, and with ſhorter claws. He added, how I had endeavoured to perſuade him, that, in my own and other countries, the yahoos acted as the governing, rational animal, and held the Houyhnhnms in ſervitude: that he obſerved in me all the qualities of a yahoo only a little more civilized by ſome tincture of reaſon; which however was in a degree as far inferior to the Houyhnhnm race, as the yahoos of their country were to me: that, among other things, I mentioned a cuſtom we had of caſtrating Houyhnhnms when they were young, in order to render them tame; that the operation was eaſy and ſafe: that it was no ſhame to learn wiſdom from brutes: as induſtry is taught by the ant, and building by the ſwallow, (for ſo I tranſlate the word *lyhannh*, although it be a much larger fowl): that this invention might be practiſed upon the younger yahoos here, which, beſides rendering them tractable and fitter for uſe, would in an age put an end to the whole ſpecies without deſtroying life: that, in the mean time, the Houyhnhnms ſhould be exhorted to cultivate the breed of aſſes, which, as they are in all reſpects more valuable brutes, ſo they have

this

this advantage, to be fit for service at five years old, which the others are not till twelve.

This was all my master thought fit to tell me at that time, of what passed in the grand council. But he was pleased to conceal one particular, which related personally to myself, whereof I soon felt the unhappy effect, as the reader will know in its proper place, and from whence I date all the succeeding misfortunes of my life.

The Houyhnhnms have no letters, and consequently their knowledge is all traditional. But there happening few events of any moment among a people so well united, naturally disposed to every virtue, wholly governed by reason, and cut off from all commerce with other nations; the historical part is easily preserved without burdening their memories. I have already observed, that they are subject to no diseases, and therefore can have no need of physicians. However, they have excellent medicines composed of herbs, to cure accidental bruises, and cuts in the pastern or frog of the foot by sharp stones, as well as other maims and hurts in the several parts of the body.

They calculate the year by the revolution of the sun and the moon, but use no subdivisions into weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the motions of those two luminaries, and understand the nature of eclipses; and this is the utmost progress of their astronomy.

In poetry they must be allowed to excel all other mortals; wherein the justness of their similies, and the minuteness as well as exactness of their descriptions, are indeed inimitable. Their verses abound very much in both of these; and usually contain either some exalted notions of friendship and benevolence, or the praises of those, who were victors in races and other bodily exercises. Their buildings, although very rude and simple, are not inconvenient, but well contrived to defend them from all in-

juries of cold and heat. They have a kind of tree which at forty years old looſens in the root, and falls with the firſt ſtorm; it grows very ſtrait, and being pointed like ſtakes, with a ſharp ſtone (for the Houyhnhnms know not the uſe of iron,) they ſtick them erect in the ground about ten inches aſunder, and then weave in oat-ſtraw, or ſometimes wattles, betwixt them. The roof is made after the ſame manner, and ſo are the doors

The Houyhnhnms uſe the hollow part, between the paſtern and the hoof, of their fore feet, as we do our hands, and this with greater dexterity than I could at firſt imagine, I have ſeen a white mare of our family thread a needle, (which I lent her on purpoſe,) with that joint. They milk their cows, reap their oats, and do all the work which requires hands in the ſame manner. They have a kind of hard flints, which, by grinding againſt other ſtones, they form into inſtruments, that ſerve inſtead of wedges, axes, and hammers. With tools made of theſe flints they likewiſe cut their hay, and reap their oats, which there grow naturally in ſeveral fields: the yahoos draw home the ſheaves in carriages, and the ſervants tread them, in certain covered huts, to get out the grain, which is kept in ſtores. They make a rude kind of earthen and wooden veſſels, and bake the former in the ſun.

If they can avoid caſualties, they die only of old age, and are buried in the obſcureſt places that can be found, their friends and relations expreſſing neither joy nor grief at their departure; nor does the dying perſon diſcover the leaſt regret that he is leaving the world, any more than if he were returning home from a viſit to one of his neighbours. I remember, my maſter having once made an appointment with a friend and his family, to come to his houſe upon ſome affair of importance, on the day fixed, the miſtreſs and her two children came very late; ſhe made two excuſes, firſt for her huſband

band, who, as she said, happened that very morning to *Ihuuwnh*. The word is strongly expressive in their language, but not easily rendered into English; it signifies *to retire to his first mother*. Her excuse for not coming sooner was, that her husband dying late in the morning, she was a good while consulting her servants about a convenient place where his body should be laid; and I observed, she behaved herself at our house as chearfully as the rest: she died about three months after.

They live generally to seventy, or seventy-five years, very seldom to fourscore: some weeks before their death, they feel a gradual decay; but without pain. During this time they are much visited by their friends, because they cannot go abroad with their usual ease and satisfaction. However, about ten days before their death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the visits that have been made them, by those who are nearest in the neighbourhood, being carried in a convenient sledge drawn by yahoos; which vehicle they use, not only upon this occasion, but when they grow old, upon long journies, or when they are lamed by any accident. And therefore when the dying Houyhnhnms return those visits, they take a solemn leave of their friends, as if they were going to some remote part of the country, where they designed to pass the rest of their lives.

I know not whether it may be worth observing, that the Houyhnhnms have no word in their language to express any thing that is evil, except what they borrow from the deformities or ill qualities of the yahoos. Thus they denote the folly of a servant, an omission of a child, a stone that cuts their feet, a continuance of foul or unseasonable weather, and the like, by adding to each the epithet of *yahoo*. For instance, *hhnm yahoo, whnaholm yahoo, nlhmndwihlma yahoo*, and an ill-contrived house, *nholmhnmrohlnw yahoo*.

I could with great pleasure enlarge farther upon the manners and virtues of this excellent people; but intending in a short time to publish a volume by itself, expressly upon that subject, I refer the reader thither. And, in the mean time, proceed to relate my own sad catastrophe.

CHAP. X.

The author's œconomy and happy life among the Houyhnhnms. His great improvement in virtue by conversing with them. Their conversations. The author hath notice given him by his master, that he must depart from the country. He falls into a swoon for grief; but submits. He contrives and finishes a canoe by the help of a fellow-servant, and puts to sea at a venture.

I HAD settled my little œconomy to my own heart's content. My master had ordered a room to be made for me after their manner, about six yards from the house; the sides and floors of which I plaistered with clay, and covered with rush-mats of my own contriving; I had beaten hemp, which there grows wild, and made of it a sort of ticking; this I filled with the feathers of several birds I had taken with springes made of yahoos hair, and were excellent food. I had worked two chairs with my knife, the sorrel-nag helping me in the grosser and more laborious part. When my cloaths were worn to rags, I made myself others with the skins of rabbets, and of a certain beautiful animal about the same size, called *nnuhnoh*, the skin of which is covered with a fine down. Of these I also made very tolerable stockings. I soaled my shoes with wood, which I cut from a tree, and fitted to the upper

upper-leather; and when this was worn out, I supplied it with the skins of yahoos dried in the sun. I often got honey out of hollow trees, which I mingled with water, or eat with my bread. No man could more verify the truth of these two maxims, *That Nature is very easily satisfied*; and, *That necessity is the mother of invention.* I enjoyed perfect health of body, and tranquillity of mind. I did not feel the treachery or inconstancy of a friend, nor the injuries of a secret or open enemy. I had no occasion of bribing, flattering, or pimping, to procure the favour of any great man, or of his minion. I wanted no fence against fraud or oppression; here was neither physician to destroy my body, nor lawyer to ruin my fortune; no informer to watch my words and actions, or forge accusations against me for hire; here were no gibers, censurers, backbiters, pick-pockets, highwaymen, housebreakers, attornies, bawds, buffoons, gamesters, politicians, wits, splenetics, tedious talkers, controvertists, ravishers, murderers, robbers, virtuosoes; no leaders or followers of party and faction; no encouragers to vice by seducement or examples; no dungeons, axes, gibbets, whipping-posts, or pillories; no cheating shop keepers or mechanics; no pride, vanity, or affectation; no fops, bullies, drunkards, strolling whores, or poxes; no ranting, lewd, expensive wives; no stupid, proud pedants; no importunate, over-bearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing companions; no scoundrels raised from the dust upon the merit of their vices, or nobility thrown into it on account of their virtues; no lords, fidlers, judges, or dancing-masters.

I had the favour of being admitted to several Houyhnhnms, who came to visit or dine with my master; where his honour graciously suffered me to wait in the room, and listen to their discourse. Both he and his company would often descend to ask

aſk me queſtions, and receive my anſwers. I had alſo ſometimes the honour of attending my maſter in his viſits to others. I never preſumed to ſpeak, except in anſwer to a queſtion; and then I did it with inward regret, becauſe it was a loſs of ſo much time for improving myſelf: but I was infinitely delighted with the ſtation of an humble auditor in ſuch converſations, where nothing paſſed but what was uſeful, expreſſed in the feweſt and moſt ſignificant words: where (as I have already ſaid,) the greateſt decency was obſerved without the leaſt degree of ceremony; where no perſon ſpoke without being pleaſed himſelf, and pleaſing his companions; where there was no interruption, tediouſneſs, heat, or difference of ſentiments. They have a notion, that when people are met together, a ſhort ſilence doth much improve converſation: this I found to be true; for during thoſe little intermiſſions of talk, new ideas would ariſe in their minds, which very much enlivened the diſcourſe. Their ſubject are generally on friendſhip and benevolence, on order and œconomy; ſometimes upon the viſible operations of nature, or ancient traditions; upon the bounds and limits of virtue; upon the unerring rules of reaſon, or upon ſome determinations to be taken at the next great aſſembly; and often upon the various excellencies of poetry. I may add, without vanity, that my preſence often gave them ſufficient matter for diſcourſe, becauſe it afforded my maſter an occaſion of letting his friends into into the hiſtory of me and my country, upon which they were all pleaſed to deſcant in a manner not very advantageous to human kind; and for that reaſon I ſhall not repeat what they ſaid; only I may be allowed to obſerve, that his honour, to my great admiration, appeared to underſtand the nature of yahoos much better than myſelf. He went through all our vices and follies, and diſcovered many which I had never mentioned to him, by only ſuppoſing

posing what qualities a yahoo of their country, with a small proportion of reason, might be capable of exerting; and concluded, with too much probability, how vile, as well as miserable, such a creature must be.

I freely confess, that all the little knowledge I have of any value, was acquired by the lectures I received from my master, and from hearing the discourses of him and his friends; to which I should be prouder to listen, than to dictate to the greatest and wisest assembly in Europe. I admired the strength, comeliness, and speed of the inhabitants; and such a constellation of virtues, in such amiable persons, produced in me the highest veneration. At first indeed I did not feel that natural awe, which the yahoos and all other animals bear towards them: but it grew upon me by degrees, much sooner than I imagined, and was mingled with a respectful love and gratitude, that they would condescend to distinguish me from the rest of my species.

When I thought of my family, my friends, my countrymen, or human race in general, I considered them as they really were, yahoos in shape and disposition, perhaps a little more civilized, and qualified with the gift of speech; but making no other use of reason, than to improve and multiply those vices, whereof their brethren in this country had only the share that Nature allotted them. When I happened to behold the reflection of my own form in a lake or a fountain, I turned away my face in horror and detestation of myself; and could better endure the sight of a common yahoo than of my own person. By conversing with the Houyhnhnms, and looking upon them with delight, I fell to imitate their gate and gesture, which is now grown into an habit; and my friends often tell me in a blunt way, that *I trot like a horse;* which however I take for a great compliment: neither shall I disown, that in speaking I am apt to fall into the voice

voice and manner of the Houyhnhnms, and hear myself ridiculed on that account without the leaſt mortification.

In the midſt of all this happineſs, and when I looked upon myſelf to be fully ſettled for life, my maſter ſent for me one morning a little earlier than his uſual hour. I obſerved by his countenance, that he was in ſome perplexity, and at a loſs how to begin what he had to ſpeak. After a ſhort ſilence, he told me, he did not know how I would take what he was going to ſay; that in the laſt general aſſembly, when the affair of the yahoos was entered upon, the repreſentatives had taken offence at his keeping a yahoo (meaning myſelf,) in his family, more like a Houyhnhnm, than a brute animal. That he was known frequently to converſe with me, as if he could receive ſome advantage or pleaſure in my company: that ſuch a practice was not agreeable to reaſon or nature, or a thing ever heard of before among them. The aſſembly did therefore exhort him either to employ me like the reſt of my ſpecies, or command me to ſwim back to the place from whence I came: That the firſt of theſe expedients was utterly rejected by all the Houyhnhnms, who had ever ſeen me at his houſe or their own: for they alledged, that becauſe I had ſome rudiments of reaſon, added to the natural pravity of thoſe animals, it was to be feared, I might be able to ſeduce them into the woody and mountainous parts of the country, and bring them in troops by night to deſtroy the Houyhnhnms cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous kind, and averſe from labour.

My maſter added, that he was daily preſſed by the Houyhnhnms of the neighbourhood to have the aſſembly's *exhortation* executed, which he could not put off much longer. He doubted it would be impoſſible for me to ſwim to another country; and therefore wiſhed I would contrive ſome ſort of vehicle reſembling thoſe I had deſcribed to him, that might

might carry me on the sea: in which work I should have the assistance of his own servants, as well as those of his neighbours. He concluded, that, for his own part, he could have been content to keep me in his service as long as I lived; because he found I had cured myself of some bad habits and dispositions, by endeavouring, as far as my inferior nature was capable, to imitate the Hoyuhnhnms.

I should here observe to the reader, that a decree of the general assembly in this country is expressed by the word *hnhloayn*, which signifies an *exhortation* as near as I can render it; for they have no conception how a rational creature may be *compelled*, but only advised, or *exhorted*; because no person can disobey reason without giving up his claim to be a rational creature.

I was struck with the utmost grief and despair at my master's discourse: and being unable to support the agonies I was under, I fell into a swoon at his feet: when I came to myself, he told me, that he concluded I had been dead (for these people are subject to no such imbecilities of nature). I answered, in a faint voice, that death would have been too great an happiness; that although I could not blame the assembly's *exhortation*, or the urgency of his friends; yet, in my weak and corrupt judgement, I thought it might consist with reason to be less rigorous: that I could not swim a league, and probably the nearest land to theirs might be distant above an hundred: that many materials necessary for making a small vessel to carry me off, were wholly wanting in this country, which however I would attempt in obedience and gratitude to his honour, although I concluded the thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on myself as already devoted to destruction: that the certain prospect of an unnatural death was the least of my evils: for supposing I should escape with life by some strange adventure, how could I think

think with temper of paſſing my life among yahoos and relapſing into my old corruptions for want of examples to lead and keep me within the paths of virtue: that I knew too well, upon what ſolid reaſons all the determinations of the wiſe Houyhnhnms were founded, not to be ſhaken by arguments of mine, a miſerable yahoo; and therefore, after preſenting him with my humble thanks for the offer of his ſervants aſſiſtance in making a veſſel, and deſiring a reaſonable time for ſo difficult a work, I told him I would endeavour to preſerve a wretched being; and if, ever I returned to England, was not without hopes of being uſeful to my own ſpecies, by celebrating the praiſes of the renowned Houyhnhnms, and propoſing their virtues to the imitation of mankind.

My maſter, in a few words, made a very gracious reply, allowed me the ſpace of two months to finiſh my boat, and ordered the ſorrel nag, my fellow ſervant (for ſo at this diſtance I may preſume to call him), to follow my inſtructions; becauſe I told my maſter, that his help would be ſufficient, and I knew he had a tenderneſs for me.

In his company, my firſt buſineſs was to go to that part of the coaſt, where my rebellious crew had ordered me to be ſet on ſhore. I got upon a height, and looking on every ſide into the ſea, fancied I ſaw a ſmall Iſland towards the N. E. I took out my pocket-glaſs, and could then clearly diſtinguiſh it about five leagues off, as I computed; but it appeared to the ſorrel nag to be only a blue cloud for as he had no conception of any country beſide his own, ſo he could not be as expert in diſtinguiſhing remote objects at ſea, as we who ſo much converſe in that element.

After I had diſcovered this iſland, I conſidered no farther; but reſolved, if poſſible, be the firſt place of my baniſhment, leaving the conſequence to fortune.

I returned home, and conſulting with the ſorrel-nag, we went into a copſe at ſome diſtance, where I with my knife, and he with a ſhort flint, faſtened very artificially after their manner to a wooden handle, cut down ſeveral oak-wattles, about the thickneſs of a walking-ſtaff, and ſome larger pieces. But I ſhall not trouble the reader with a particular deſcription of my own mechanics; let it ſuffice to ſay, that in ſix weeks time, with the help of the ſorrel nag, who performed the parts that required moſt labour, I finiſhed a ſort of Indian canoe, but much larger, covering it with the ſkins of yahoos well ſtitched together with hempen threads of my own making. My ſail was likewiſe compoſed of the ſkins of the ſame animal; but I made uſe of the youngeſt I could get, the older being too tough and thick; and I likewiſe provided myſelf with four paddles. I laid in a ſtock of boiled fleſh, of rabbets and fowls; and took with me two veſſels, one filled with milk, and the other with water.

I tried my canoe in a large pond near my maſter's houſe, and then corrected in it what was amiſs; ſtopping all the chinks with yahoo's tallow, till I found it ſtaunch and able to bear me and my freight. And, when it was as complete as I could poſſibly make it, I had it drawn on a carriage very gently by yahoos to the ſea-ſide, under the conduct of the ſorrel-nag, and another ſervant.

When all was ready, and the day came for my departure, I took leave of my maſter and lady, and the whole family, mine eyes flowing with tears, and my heart quite ſunk with grief. But his honour, out of curioſity, and perhaps (if I may ſpeak it without vanity), partly out of kindneſs, was determined to ſee me in my canoe; and got ſeveral of his neighbouring friends to accompany him. I was forced to wait above an hour for the tide, and then obſerving the wind very fortunately bearing towards the iſland to which I intended to ſteer my courſe, I

took a second leave of my master: but, as I wa going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he di me the honour to raise it gently to my mouth. am not ignorant how much I have been censure for mentioning this last particular. Detractors ar pleased to think it improbable, that so illustriou a person should descend to give so great mark of distinction to a creature so inferior a I. Neither have I forgotten how apt some travel lers are to boast of extraordinary favours they hav received. But, if these censurers were better ac quainted with the noble and courteous dispositio of the Houyhnhnms, they would soon change thei opinion.

I paid my respects to the rest of the Houyhnhnm in his honour's company; then getting int my canoe, I pushed off from shore.

CHAP. XI.

The author's dangerous voyage. He arrives at Ne Holland, hoping to settle there. Is wounded wit an arrow by one of the natives. Is seized and ca ried by force into a Portgueze ship. The great c vilities of the captain. The author arrives at Eng land.

I BEGAN this desperate voyage on February 15 1714-15, at 9 o'clock in the morning. Th wind was very favourable; however I made use a first only of my paddles; but considering I shoul soon be weary, and that the wind might chop a bout, I ventured to set up my little sail; and thus with the help of the tide, I went at the rate of a league and a half an hour, as near as I could guess

My master and his friends continued on the shore til

till I was almoſt out of ſight; and I often heard the ſorrel-nag (who always loved me) crying out *hnuy illa nyha majah yahoo*, Take care of thy ſelf gentle *yahoo*.

My deſign was, if poſſible, to diſcover ſome ſmall iſland uninhabited, yet ſufficient by my labour to furniſh me with the neceſſaries of life, which I would have thought a greater happineſs than to be firſt miniſter in the politeſt court of Europe; ſo horrible was the idea I conceived of returning to live in the ſociety, and under the governmant of yahoos. For, in ſuch a ſolitude as I deſired, I could at leaſt enjoy my own thoughts, and reflect with delight on the virtues of thoſe inimitable Houyhnhnms, without any opportunity of degenerating into the vices and corruptions of my own ſpecies.

The reader may remember what I related, when my crew conſpired againſt me, and confined me to my cabbin: How I continued there ſeveral weeks without knowing what courſe we took: and when I was put a-ſhore in the long-boat, how the ſailors told me with oaths, whether true or falſe, that they knew not in what part of the world we were. However, I did then believe us to be about ten degrees ſouthward of the Cape of Good Hope, or about 45 degrees ſouthern latitude, as I gathered from ſome general words I overheard among them, being I ſuppoſed to the ſouth-eaſt in their intended voyage to Madagaſcar. And although this were but little better than conjecture, yet I reſolved to ſteer my courſe eaſt-ward, hoping to reach the ſouth-weſt coaſt of New Holland, and perhaps ſome ſuch iſland as I deſired lying weſtward of it. The wind was full weſt, and, by ſix in the evening, I computed I had gone eaſt-ward at leaſt eighteen leagues; when I ſpied a very ſmall iſland about half a league off, which I ſoon reached. It was nothing but a rock with one creek naturally arched by the

force of tempeſts. Here I put in my canoe, and climbing a part of the rock, I could plainly diſcover land to the eaſt, extending from ſouth to north. I lay all night in my canoe; and repeating my voyage early in the morning, I arrived in ſeveral hours at the ſouth-eaſt point of New Holland. This confirmed me in the opinion I have long entertained, that the maps and charts place this country at leaſt three degrees more to the eaſt than it really is; which thought I communicated many years ago to my worthy friend, Mr. Herman Moll, and gave him my reaſons for it, although he hath rather choſen to follow other authors.

I ſaw no inhabitants in the place where I landed, and being unarmed, I was afraid of venturing far into the country. I found ſome ſhell-fiſh on the ſhore, and eat them raw, not daring to kindle a fire for fear of being diſcovered by the natives. I continued three days feeding on oyſters and limpits, to ſave my own proviſions; and I fortunately found a brook of excellent water, which gave me great relief.

On the fourth day, venturing out early a little too far, I ſaw twenty or thirty natives upon a height, not above five hundred yards from me. They were ſtark-naked, men, women, and children, round a fire, as I could diſcover by the ſmoke. One of them ſpied me, and gave notice to the reſt; five of them advanced towards me, leaving the women and children at the fire. I made what haſte I could to the ſhore, and getting into my canoe ſhoved off: the ſavages obſerving me retreat, ran after me; and, before I could get far enough into the ſea, diſcharged an arrow, which wounded me deeply on the inſide of my left knee (I ſhall carry the mark to my grave). I apprehended the arrow might be poiſoned, and paddling out of the reach of their darts, (being a calm day) I made a ſhift to ſuck the wound, and dreſs it as well as I could.

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I was at a loſs what to do, for I durſt not return to the ſame landing place, but ſtood to the north, and was forced to paddle; for the wind, though very gentle, was againſt me, blowing north-weſt. As I was looking about for a ſecure landing-place, I ſaw a ſail to the north north eaſt, which appearing every minute more viſible, I was in ſome doubt whether I ſhould wait for them or no; but at laſt my deteſtation of the yahoo race prevailed; and turning my canoe, I ſailed and paddled together to the ſouth, and got into the ſame creek from whence I ſet out in the morning, chuſing rather to truſt myſelf among theſe Barbarians, than live with European yahoos. I drew up my canoe as cloſe as I could to the ſhore, and hid myſelf behind a ſtone by the little brook, which, as I have already ſaid, was excellent water.

The ſhip came within half a league of this creek, and ſent out her long boat with veſſels to take in freſh water (for the place, it ſeems, was very well known); but I did not obſerve it, till the boat was almoſt on ſhore; and it was too late to ſeek another hiding place. The ſeamen at their landing obſerved my canoe, and rummaging it all over, eaſily conjectured that the owner could not be far off. Four of them, well armed, ſearched every cranny and lurking holes till at laſt they found me flat on my face behind a ſtone. They gazed a while in admiration at my ſtrange uncouth dreſs; my coat made of ſkins, my wooden ſoaled ſhoes, and my furred ſtockings; from whence however they concluded, I was not a native of the place, who all go naked. One of the ſeamen, in Portugueze, bid me riſe, and aſked who I was. I underſtood that language very well, and getting upon my feet, ſaid I was a poor yahoo baniſhed from the Houyhnhnms, and deſired they would pleaſe to let me depart. They admired to hear me anſwer them in their own tongue, and ſaw, by my

complexion, I muſt be an European; but were at a loſs to know what I meant by yahoos and Houyhnhnms, and at the ſame time fell a laughing at my ſtrange tone in ſpeaking, which reſembled the neighing of a horſe. I trembled all the while betwixt fear and hatred. I again deſired leave to depart, and was gently moving to my canoe; but they laid hold on me, deſiring to know, what country I was of? whence I came? with many other queſtions. I told them I was born in England, from whence I came about five years ago, and then their country and ours were at peace. I therefore hoped they would not treat me as an enemy, ſince I meant them no harm, but was a poor yahoo ſeeking ſome deſolate place where to paſs the remainder of his unfortunate life.

When they began to talk, I thought I never heard or ſaw any thing ſo unnatural; for it appeared to me as monſtrous, as if a dog or cow ſhould ſpeak in England, or a yahoo in Houyhnhnm-land. The honeſt Portugueſe were equally amazed at my ſtrange dreſs, and the odd manner of delivering my words, which however they underſtood very well. They ſpoke to me with great humanity, and ſaid they were ſure the captain would carry me *gratis* to Liſbon, from whence I might return to my own country; that two of the ſeamen would go back to the ſhip, inform the captain of what they had ſeen and receive his orders; in the mean time, unleſs I would give my ſolemn oath not to fly, they would ſecure me by force. I thought it beſt to comply with their propoſal. They were very curious to know my ſtory, but I gave them very little ſatisfaction; and they all conjectured, that my misfortunes had impaired my reaſon. In two hours, the boat, which went loaden with veſſels of water, returned with the captain's command to fetch me on board. I fell on my knees to preſerve my liberty, but all was in vain; and the men having tied

tied me with cords, heaved me into the boat, from whence I was taken into the ſhip, and from thence into the captain's cabbin.

His name was Pedro de Mendez; he was a very courteous and generous perſon; he intreated me to give ſome account of myſelf, and deſired to know what I would eat or drink; ſaid I ſhould be uſed as well as himſelf, and ſpoke ſo many obliging things, that I wondered to find ſuch civilities from a yahoo. However, I remained ſilent and ſullen; I was ready to faint at the very ſmell of him and his men. At laſt I deſired ſomething to eat out of my own canoe; but he ordered me a chicken, and ſome excellent wine, and then directed that I ſhould be put to bed in a very clean cabbin. I would not undreſs myſelf, but lay on the bed-cloaths, and in half an hour ſtole out, when I thought the crew was at dinner, and getting to the ſide of the ſhip, was going to leap into the ſea, and ſwim for my life, rather than continue among yahoos: but one of the ſeamen prevented me, and having informed the captain, I was chained to my cabbin.

After dinner, Don Pedro came to me, and deſired to know my reaſon for ſo deſperate an attempt; aſſured me, he only meant to do me all the ſervice he was able, and ſpoke ſo very movingly, that at laſt I deſcended to treat him like an animal which had ſome little portion of reaſon. I gave him a very ſhort relation of my voyage; of the conſpiracy againſt me by my own men; of the country where they ſet me on ſhore, and of my five years reſidence there: All which he looked upon, as if it were a dream or a viſion, whereat I took great offence; for I had quite forgot the faculty of lying, ſo peculiar to yahoos in all countries where they preſide, and conſequently the diſpoſition of ſuſpecting truth in others of their own ſpecies. I aſked him, whether it were the cuſtom

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in his country to *ſay the thing which was not?* I aſſured him, I had almoſt forgot what he meant by falſehood, and, if I had lived a thouſand years in Houyhnhnm-land, I ſhould never have heard a lye from the meaneſt ſervant; that I was altogether indifferent whether he believed me or no; but however, in return for his favours, I would give ſo much allowance to the corruption of his nature, as to anſwer any objection he would pleaſe to make and then he might eaſily diſcover the truth.

The captain a wiſe man, after many endeavours to catch me tripping in ſome part of my ſtory, at laſt began to have a better opinion of my veracity. But he added, that, ſince I profeſſed ſo inviolable an attachment to truth, I muſt give him my word and honour to bear him company in this voyage, without attempting any thing againſt my life, or elſe he would continue me a priſoner till we arrived at Liſbon. I gave him the promiſe he required; but at the ſame time proteſted, that I would ſuffer the greateſt hardſhips, rather than return to live among yahoos.

Our voyage paſſed without any conſiderable accident. In gratitude to the captain, I ſometimes ſat with him at his earneſt requeſt, and ſtrove to conceal my antipathy againſt human kind, although it often broke out; which he ſuffered to paſs without obſervation. But the greateſt part of the day I confined myſelf to my cabbin, to avoid ſeeing any of the crew. The captain had often intreated me to ſtrip myſelf of my ſavage dreſs, and offered to lend me the beſt ſuit of cloaths he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myſelf with any thing that had been on the back of a yahoo. I only deſired he would lend me two clean ſhirts, which, having been waſhed ſince he wore them, I believed would not ſo much defile me. Theſe I changed every ſecond day, and waſhed them myſelf.

We

We arrived at Liſbon, Nov. 5. 1715. At our landing, the captain forced me to cover myſelf with his cloak, to prevent the rabble from crouding about me. I was conveyed to his own houſe; and at my earneſt requeſt he led me up to the higheſt room backwards. I conjured him to conceal from all perſons what I had told him of the Houyhnhnms; becauſe the leaſt hint of ſuch a ſtory would not only draw numbers of people to ſee me, but probably put me in danger of being impriſoned or burnt by the *inquiſition*. The captain perſuaded me to accept a ſuit of cloaths newly made; but I would not ſuffer the taylor to take my meaſure, However, Don Pedro being almoſt of my ſize, they fitted me well enough. He accoutred me with other neceſſaries, all new, which I aired for twenty-four hours, before I would uſe them.

The captain had no wife, nor above three ſervants, none of which were ſuffered to attend at meals; and his whole deportment was ſo obliging, added to very good *human* underſtanding, that I really began to tolerate his company. He gained ſo far upon me, that I ventured to look out of the back window. By degrees I was brought into another room, from whence I peeped into the ſtreet, but drew my head back in a fright. In a week's time he ſeduced me down to the door. I found my terror gradually leſſened, but my hatred and contempt ſeemed to increaſe. I was at laſt bold enough to walk the ſtreet in his company, but kept my noſe well ſtopped with rue, or ſometimes with tobacco.

In ten days, don Pedro, to whom I had given ſome account of my domeſtic affairs, put it upon me as a matter of honour and conſcience, that I ought to return to my native country, and live at home with my wife and children. He told me, there was an Engliſh ſhip in the port juſt ready to

ſail, and he would furniſh me with all things neceſſary. It would be tedious to repeat his arguments, and my contradictions. He ſaid it was altogether impoſſible to find ſuch a ſolitary iſland as I had deſired to live in; but I might command in my own houſe, and paſs my time in a manner as recluſe as I pleaſed.

I complied at laſt, finding I could not do better. I left Liſbon, the 24th day of November, in an Engliſh merchant-man, but who was the maſter I never enquired. Don Pedro accompanied me to the ſhip, and lent me twenty pounds. He took kind leave of me, and embraced me at parting, which I bore as well as I could. During this laſt voyage, I had no commerce with the maſter, or any of his men; but pretending I was ſick, kept cloſe in my cabbin. On the 5th of December 1715, we caſt anchor in the Downs about nine in the morning, and at three in the afternoon I got ſafe to my houſe at Rotherhithe.

My wife and family received me with great ſurprize and joy, becauſe they concluded me certainly dead; but I muſt freely confeſs the ſight of them filled me only with hatred, diſguſt, and contempt; and the more by reflecting on the near alliance I had to them. For although, ſince my unfortunate exile from the Houyhnhnm country, I had compelled myſelf to tolerate the ſight of yahoos, and to converſe with Don Pedro de Mendez, yet my memory and imagination were perpetually filled with the virtues and ideas of thoſe exalted Houyhnhnms. And when I began to conſider, that, by copulating with one of the yahoo ſpecies, I had become a parent of more, it ſtruck me with the utmoſt ſhame, confuſion, and horror.

As ſoon as I entered the houſe, my wife took me in her arms, and kiſſed me; at which, not having been uſed to the touch of that odious animal for ſo many years, I fell into a ſwoon for almoſt an hour.

hour. At the time I am writing, it is five years since my laſt return to England *: during the firſt year I could not endure my wife or children in my preſence: the very ſmell of them was intolerable; much leſs could I ſuffer them to eat in the ſame room. To this hour they dare not preſume to touch my bread, or drink out of the ſame cup; neither was I ever able to let them take me by the hand. The firſt money I laid out was to buy two young ſtone-horſes, which I keep in a good ſtable, and next to them the groom is my greateſt favourite; for I feel my ſpirits revived by the ſmell he contracts in the ſtable. My horſes underſtand me tolerably well; I converſe with them at leaſt four hours every day. They are ſtrangers to bridle or ſaddle; they live in great amity with me, and friendſhip to each other.

* This was intended as a mark, whereby the exact point of time, when Dr. Swift had finiſhed this noble and grand performance, which, in the prophetic ſtyle of his friend Pope, will in future ages be the admiration of all men, ſhould be known to poſterity. *Swift.*

CHAP. XII *.

The author's veracity. His design in publishing this work. His censure of those travellers who swerve from the truth. The author clears himself from any sinister ends in writing. An objection answered. The method of planting colonies. His native country commended. The right of the crown to those countries described by the author, is justified. The difficulty of conquering them. The author takes his last leave of the reader; proposeth his manner of living for the future; gives good advice, and concludeth.

THUS, gentle reader, I have given thee a faithful history of my travels for sixteen years and above seven months; wherein I have not been so studious of ornament as of truth. I could perhaps, like others, have astonished thee with strange improbable tales; but I rather chose to relate plain matter of fact in the simplest manner aud style; because my principal design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.

It is easy for us who travel into remote countries, which are seldom visited by Englishmen, or other Europeans, to form descriptions of wonderful animals both at sea and land. Whereas a traveller's

* I must confess, in the spirit of candour and sincerity, that I heartily wish this 12th chapter, which is, without exception, the dullest piece (at least that I can remember,) in his whole writings, were either burnt or annihilated. This indeed, like the rest of his critics, I could easily have passed over uncensured; perhaps they never observed it: and yet all that I mean by this gentle severity, (for I despise the reputation of a little censuring critic,) is, to shew the world, that I would scorn to approve, through thick and thin, the works of the most approved, consummate genius, in despite to that little knowledge which I have endeavoured to acquire, as a direction to my own taste and judgement. *Swift.*

chief aim ſhould be to make men wiſer and better, and to improve their minds by the bad, as well as good examples, of what they deliver concerning foreign places.

I could heartily wiſh a law was enacted, that every traveller, before he were permitted to publiſh his voyages, ſhould be obliged to make oath before the Lord High Chancellor, that all he intended to print was abſolutely true to the beſt of his knowledge; for then the world would no longer be deceived, as it uſually is; while ſome writers, to make their works paſs the better upon the public, impoſe the groſſeſt falſities on the unwary reader. I have peruſed ſeveral books of travels with great delight in my younger days; but having ſince gone over moſt parts of the globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous accounts from my own obſervation, it hath given me a great diſguſt againſt this part of reading, and ſome indignation to ſee the credulity of mankind ſo impudently abuſed. Therefore, ſince my acquaintance were pleaſed to think my poor endeavours might not be unacceptable to my country, I impoſed on myſelf as a maxim never to be ſwerved from, that I would *ſtrictly adhere to truth*; neither indeed can I be ever under the leaſt temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my mind the lectures and example of my noble maſter, and the other illuſtrious Houyhnhnms, of whom I had ſo long the honour to be an humble hearer.

———*Nec ſi miſerum fortuna Sinonem*
Finxit, vanum etiam, mendacemque, improba finget.

I know very well how little reputation is to be got by writings, which require neither genius nor learning, nor indeed any other talent, except a good memory, or an exact journal. I know likewiſe, that writers of travels, like dictionary-makers, are ſunk into oblivion, by the weight and bulk of thoſe who came laſt, and therefore lie uppermoſt. And it is highly probable, that ſuch travellers, who

ſhall hereafter viſit the countries deſcribed in this work of mine, may, by detecting my errors, (if there be any,) and adding many new diſcoveries of their own, juſtle me out of vogue, and ſtand in my place, making the world forget that ever I was an author. This indeed would be too great mortification, if I wrote for fame: but as my ſole intention was the public good, I cannot be altogether diſappointed. For who can read of the virtues I have mentioned in the glorious Houyhnhnms without being aſhamed of his own vices, when he conſiders himſelf as the reaſoning, governing animal of his country? I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe remote nations, where yahoos preſide; amongſt which the leaſt corrupted are the Brobdingnagians, whoſe wiſe maxims in morality and government it would be our happineſs to obſerve. But I forbear deſcanting farther, and rather leave the judicious reader to his own remarks and applications.

I am not a little pleaſed, that this work of mine can poſſibly meet with no cenſurers: for what objection can be made againſt a writer, who relates only plain facts, that happened in ſuch diſtant countries, where we have not the leaſt intereſt with reſpect either to trade or negotiations? I have carefully avoided every fault, with which common writers of travels are often too juſtly charged. Beſides I meddle not in the leaſt with any party, but write without paſſion, prejudice, or ill-will againſt any man, or number of men whatſoever. I write for the nobleſt end, to inform and inſtruct mankind, over whom I may, without breach of modeſty, pretend to ſome ſuperiority, from the advantages I received by converſing ſo long among the moſt accompliſhed Houyhnhnms. I write without any view towards profit or praiſe. I never ſuffer a word to paſs, that may look like reflection, or poſſibly give the leaſt offence, even to thoſe who are moſt ready to take it. So that I hope, I may with juſtice

justice pronounce myself an author perfectly blameless; against whom the tribes of answerers, considerers, observers, reflecters, detecters, remarkers, will never be able to find matter for exercising their talents.

I confess, it was whispered to me, that I was bound in duty, as a subject of England, to have given in a memorial to a secretary of state at my first coming over; because, whatever lands are discovered by a subject, belong to the crown. But I doubt whether our conquests, in the countries I treat of, would be as easy as those of Ferdinando Cortez over the naked Americans. The Lilliputians, I think, are hardly worth the charge of a fleet and army to reduce them; and I question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the Brobdingnagians: Or whether an English army would be much at their ease with the flying island over their heads. The Houyhnhnms, indeed, appear not to be so well prepared for war, a science to which they are perfect strangers, and especially against missive weapons. However, supposing myself to be a minister of state, I could never give my advice for invading them. Their prudence, unanimity, unacquaintedness with fear, and their love of their country, would amply supply all defects in the military art. Imagine twenty thousand of them breaking into the midst of an European army, confounding the ranks, overturning the carriages, battering the warriors faces into mummy by terrible yerks from their hinder-hoofs; for they would well deserve the character given to Augustus: *Recalcitrat undique tutus.* But instead of proposals for conquering that magnanimous nation, I rather wish they were in a capacity, or disposition, to send a sufficient number of their inhabitants for civilizing Europe, by teaching us the first principles of honour, justice, truth, temperance, public spirit, fortitude, chastity, friendship, benevolence, and fidelity:

lity: the names of all which virtues are ſtill retained among us in moſt languages, and are to be met with in modern, as well as ancient authors; which I am able to aſſert from my own ſmall reading.

But I had another reaſon, which made me leſs forward to enlarge his Majeſty's dominions by my diſcoveries: To ſay the truth, I had conceived a few ſcruples with relation to the diſtributive juſtice of princes upon thoſe occaſions. For inſtance, a crew of pyrates are driven by a ſtorm, they know not whither; at length a boy diſcovers land from the top-maſt; they go on ſhore to rob and plunder; they ſee an harmleſs people, are entertained with kindneſs; they give the country a new name; they take formal poſſeſſion of it for their king; they ſet up a rotten plank or a ſtone for a memorial; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more by force for a ſample, return home, and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion, acquired with a title by *divine right*. Ships are ſent with the firſt opportunity; the natives driven out or deſtroyed; their princes tortured to diſcover their gold; a free licence given to all acts of inhumanity and luſt; the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants: and this execrable crew of butchers employed in ſo pious an expedition, is a *modern colony*, ſent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous people.

But this deſcription, I confeſs, doth by no means affect the Britiſh nation, who may be an example to the whole world, for the wiſdom, care, and juſtice in planting colonies; their liberal endowments for the advancement of religion and learning; their choice of devout and able paſtors to propagate Chriſtianity; their caution in ſtocking their provinces with people of ſober lives and converſations, from this the mother kingdom; their ſtrict regard to the diſtribution of juſtice, in ſupplying the civil adminiſtration through all their colonies with

with officers of the greateſt abilities, utter ſtrangers to corruption; and to crown all, by ſending the moſt vigilant and virtuous governors, who have no other views than the happineſs of the people over whom they preſide, and the honour of the King their maſter.

But as thoſe countries, which I have deſcribed, do not appear to have any deſire of being conquered, and enſlaved, murdered or driven out by colonies; nor abound either in gold, ſilver, ſugar, or tobacco; I did humbly conceive, they were by no means proper objects of our zeal, our valour, or our intereſt. However, if thoſe, whom it more concerns, think it fit to be of another opinion, I am ready to depoſe, when I ſhall be lawfully called, that no European did ever viſit theſe countries before me: I mean, if the inhabitants ought to be believed; unleſs a diſpute may ariſe, concerning the two yahoos ſaid to have been ſeen many ages ago upon a mountain in Houyhnhnm-land.

But, as to the formality of taking poſſeſſion in my ſovereign's name, it never came once into my thoughts; and if it had, yet, as my affairs then ſtood, I ſhould perhaps in point of prudence and ſelf-preſervation have put it off to a better opportunity.

Having thus anſwered the only objection that can ever be raiſed againſt me as a traveller; I here take a final leave of all my courteous readers, and return to enjoy my own ſpeculations in my little garden at Redriff; to apply thoſe excellent leſſons of virtue which I learned among the Houyhnhnms; to inſtruct the yahoos of my own family, as far as I ſhall find them docible animals; to behold my figure often in a glaſs, and thus, if poſſible, habituate myſelf by time to tolerate the ſight of a human creature: to lament the brutality of Houyhnhnms in my own country, but always treat their perſons with reſpect for the ſake of my noble maſter, his

family, his friends, and the whole Houyhnhnm race, whom these of ours have the honour to resemble in all their lineaments, however their intellectuals came to degenerate.

I began last week to permit my wife to sit at dinner with me at the farthest end of a long table; and to answer (but with the utmost brevity,) the few questions I asked her. Yet, the smell of a yahoo continuing very offensive, I always kept my nose well stopped with rue, lavender, or tobacco-leaves. And, although it be hard for a man late in life to remove old habits, I am not altogether out of hopes in some time to suffer a neighbour yahoo in my company, without the apprehensions I am yet under of his teeth or his claws.

My reconcilement to the yahoo-kind in general, might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those vices and follies only which Nature hath intitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer, a pick-pocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, a whoremonger, a physician, an evidence, a suborner, an attorney, a traitor, or the like: this is all according to the due course of things; but when I behold a lump of deformity and diseases, both in body and mind, smitten with pride, it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an animal, and such a vice, could tally together. The wise and virtuous Houyhnhnms, who abound in all excellencies that can adorn a rational creature, have no name for this vice in their language, which hath no terms to express any thing that is evil, except those where by they describe the detestable qualities of their yahoos, among which they were not able to distinguish this of pride, for want of thoroughly understanding human nature, as it sheweth itself in other countries where that animal presides: But I, who had

more

more experience, could plainly obſerve ſome rudiments of it among the wild yahoos.

But the Houyhnhnms, who live under the government of reaſon, are no more proud of the good qualities they poſſeſs, than I ſhould be for not wanting a leg or an arm, which no man in his wits would boaſt of, although he muſt be miſerable without them. I dwell the longer upon this ſubject, from the deſire I have to make the ſociety of an Engliſh yahoo by any means not inſupportable; and therefore I here intreat thoſe, who have any tincture of this abſurd vice, that they will not preſume to come in my ſight.

*** To mortify pride, which indeed was not made for man, and produces not only the moſt ridiculous follies, but the moſt exteſive calamity, appears to have been one general view of the author in every part of theſe travels. Perſonal ſtrength and beauty, the wiſdom and the virtue of mankind, become objects, not of pride, but of humility, in the diminutive ſtature and contemptible weakneſs of the Lilliputians; in the horrid deformity of the Brobdingnagians; in the learned folly of the Laputians; and in the parallel drawn between our manners and thoſe of the Houyhnhnms.

Swift's Gulliver is a direct, plain, and bitter ſatire, againſt the innumerable follies and corruptions in law, politics, learning, morals, and religion. And without diſpute theſe manifold corruptions have, in a courſe of ages, by the refinements and gloſſes of iniquitous men, arrived at laſt to ſuch ſtrength and effrontery, as to render it impoſſible for all the wit and genius that ever warmed the imagination of a ſatiriſt, to laſh them with any degree of ſeverity proportioned to that exceſs of perturbation and miſchief which they ſeverally occaſion in the great circle of ſociety. All therefore, which can be done by a wiſe man, (ſeeing that by nature he is appointed to act, for the ſpace of thirty, fifty, or ſeventy years, ſome ridiculous ſilly part in this fantaſtic theatre of miſery, vice, and corruption,) is either to lament, with Heraclitus, the iniquities of the world; or, which is the more chearful, and therefore I do preſume the more eligible courſe, to laugh with Democritus, at all the knaves and fools upon earth. And accordingly we find, that Dr. Swift has, in theſe travels, exerted a ſort of ridicule and ſatire, pointed ſo directly againſt the depravities of human kind, and ſupported with ſuch an abundance of wit and pleaſantry, as indeed more than perſuade us to believe, that his intention was either to laugh vice and immorality, if it were poſſible, quite out of the world; or at leaſt to avenge the cauſe of virtue on all the patrons or abettors of iniquity. *Swift.*

A TRITICAL ESSAY upon the FACULTIES of the MIND *.

To——

SIR,

'BEING so great a lover of antiquities, it was reasonable to suppose you would be very much 'obliged with any thing that was new. I have been 'of late offended with many writers of essays and 'moral discourses, for running into stale topics 'and thread-bare quotations, and not handling 'their subject fully and closely: all which errors 'I have carefully avoided in the following essay, 'which I have proposed for a pattern for young 'writers to imitate. The thoughts and observations being entirely new, the quotations untouched 'by others, the subject of mighty importance, and 'treated with much order and perspicuity, it hath 'cost me a great deal of time; and I desire you 'will accept and consider it as the utmost effort of 'my genius.'

PHILOSOPHERS say, that man is a microcosm, or little world, resembling in miniature every part of the great; and, in my opinion, the body natural may be compared to the body politic; and if

* This essay will make you smile. *Orrery.*

In this piece the spirit of ridicule is very highly displayed. The author gravely pretends, that this subject is of mighty importance; that his sentiments are entirely new; that his quotations are untouched by others: and, above all, that he has treated his subject with much

if this be so how can the Epicurean's opinion be true, that the universe was formed by a fortuitous concourse of atoms; which I will no more believe, than that the accidental jumbling of the letters of the alphabet could fall by chance into a most ingenious and learned treatise of philosophy. *Risum teneatis amici?* [HOR.] This false opinion must needs create many more; it is like an error in the first concoction, which cannot be corrected in the second; the foundation is weak, and whatever superstructure you raise upon it, must of necessity fall to the ground. Thus men are led from one error to another, until with Ixion they embrace a cloud instead of Juno; or, like the dog in the fable, lose the substance in gaping at the shadow: For such opinions cannot cohere; but like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, must separate and break in pieces. I have read in a certain author, that Alexander wept, because he had no more worlds to conquer; which he needed not have done, if the fortuitous concourse of atoms could create one; but this is an opinion fitter for that many headed beast the vulgar to entertain, than for so wise a man as Epicurus; the corrupt part of his sect only borrowed his name, as the monkey did the cat's claw to draw the chesnut out of the fire.

However, the first step to the cure is to know the disease; and though truth may be difficult to find,

much order, fulness, and perspicuity; on which account he hath proposed it as a pattern for young writers to imitate, and desires it may be considered as the utmost effort of his genius. Whereas, in fact, the subject is of little importance, the sentiments are old and stale, the quotations are thread bare: and to complete his ridicule, he has treated his subject in a light, careless, rambling, superficial manner, without order, fulness, meaning, or perspicuity: and therefore it is only to be considered, like the Meditation on a Broomstick, [Vol. 7 p. 104] in a farcical, satiric light, designed purely to expose the folly and temerity of those brainless, illiterate scribblers who are eternally plaguing their contemporaries with a parcel of wild, incoherent nonsensical trash. *Swift.*

because,

becauſe, as the philoſopher obſerves, ſhe lives in the bottom of a well, yet we need not, like blind men, grope in open day-light. I hope I may be allowed among ſo many far more learned men to offer my mite, ſince a ſtander-by may ſometimes perhaps ſee more of the game, than he that plays it. But I do not think a philoſopher obliged to account for every phænomenon in nature, or drown himſelf with Ariſtotle, for not being able to ſolve the ebbing and flowing of the tide in that fatal ſentence he paſt upon himſelf, *Quia te non capio, tu capie me.* Wherein he was at once the judge and the criminal, the accuſer and executioner. Socrates, on the other hand, who ſaid he knew nothing, was pronounced by the oracle to be the wiſeſt man in the world.

But to return from this digreſſion, I think it as clear as any demonſtration in Euclid, that nature does nothing in vain; if we were able to dive into her ſecret receſſes, we ſhould find that the ſmalleſt blade of graſs, or moſt contemptible weed, has its particular uſe: but ſhe is chiefly admirable in her minuteſt compoſitions; the leaſt and moſt contemptible inſect moſt diſcovers the art of nature, if I may ſo call it; though nature, which delights in variety, will always triumph over art: and as the poet obſerves,

Naturam expellas furca licet, uſque recurret. HOR.

But the various opinions of philoſophers, have ſcattered through the world as many plagues of the mind as Pandora's box did thoſe of the body, only with this difference, that they have not left hope at the bottom. And if truth be not fled with Aſtrea, ſhe is certainly as hidden as the ſource of the Nile, and can be found only in Utopia. Not that I would reflect on theſe wiſe ſages, which would be a ſort of ingratitude; and he that calls a man ungrate-

grateful, sums up all the evil a man can be guilty of.

Ingratum si dixeris omnia dixis.

But what I blame the philosophers for (though some may think it a paradox), is chiefly their pride; nothing less than an *ipse dixit*, and you must pin your faith on their sleeve. And though Diogenes lived in a tub, there might be, for aught I know, as much pride under his rags, as in the fine-spun garment of the divine Plato. It is reported of this Diogenes, that when Alexander came to see him, and promised to give him whatever he would ask, the Cynic only answered, "take not from me what "you canst not give me, but stand from between "me and the light;" which was almost as extravagant, as the philosopher that flung his money into the sea, with this remarkable saying——

How different was this man from the usurer, who being told his son would spend all he had got, replied, "He cannot take more pleasure in spend-"ing, than I did in getting it." These men could see the faults of each other, but not their own; those they flung into the bag behind; *non videmus id manticae quod in tergo est**. I may perhaps be censured for my free opinions by those carping Momus's whom authors worship as the Indians do the devil, for fear. They will endeavour to give my reputation as many wounds as the man in the almanack; but I value it not; and perhaps, like flies, they may buz so often about the candle, till they burn their wings. They must pardon me, if I venture to give them this advice, not to rail at what they cannot understand: it does but discover that self-tormenting passion of envy, than which the

† Alluding to the fable of Phaedrus, that Jupiter had hung over every man's shoulder two satchels, of which one hung before, and contained the faults of his neighbour; and the other behind, which contained his own.

greatest

greateſt tyrant never invented a more cruel tor
ment.

Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
Tormentum majus—— JUV.

I muſt be ſo bold to tell my critics and witling
that they can no more judge of this, than a ma
that is born blind can have any true idea of co
lours. I have always obſerved that your empt
veſſels ſound loudeſt: I value their laſhes as litt
as the ſea did thoſe of Xerxes, when he whippe
it. †. The utmoſt favour a man can expect fro
them is, that which Polyphemus promiſed Ulyſſe
that he would devour him the laſt: they think
ſubdue a writer as Cæſar did his enemy, with
veni, vidi, vici. I confeſs I value the opinion
the judicious few, a Rymer, a Dennis, or a W--
but for the reſt, to give my judgement at once,
think the long diſpute among the philoſophers
bout a *vacuum* may be determined in the affirm
tive, that it is to be found in a critic's head. Th
are at beſt but the drones of the learned worl
who devour the honey, and will not work then
ſelves; and a writer need no more regard ther
than the moon does the barking of a little ſenſele
cur. For, in ſpight of their terrible roaring, yo
may with half an eye diſcover the *aſs* under t
lion's ſkin.

But to return to our diſcourſe: Demoſthen
being aſked what was the firſt part of an orato
replied, *action:* what was the ſecond, *action:* wh
was the third, *action:* and ſo on *ad infinitum.* Th
may be true in oratory; but contemplation in
ther things exceeds action. And therefore a wi
man is never leſs alone, than when he is alone:

Nunquam minus ſolus, quam cum ſolus.

And Archimedes, the famous mathematicia

† It is told of Xerxes, that when the ſea broke down the bric
of boats, which he had laid over the Helleſpont, he ordered it to
laſhed, and fetters to be thrown into it.

was so intent upon his problems, that he never minded the soldier who came to kill him. Therefore, not to detract from the just praise that belongs to orators, they ought to consider that nature, which give us two eyes to see, and two ears to hear, has given us but one tongue to speak, wherein however some do so abound, that the virtuosi, who have been so long in search for the perpetual motion, may infallibly find it there.

Some men admire republics, because orators flourish there most, and are the great enemies of tyranny: but my opinion is, that one tyrant is better than a hundred. Besides, these orators inflame the people, whose anger is really but a short fit of madness.

Ira furor brevis est.—— HOR.

After which laws are like cobwebs, which may catch small flies, but let wasps and hornets break through. But in oratory the greatest art is to hide art.

Artis est celare artem

But this must be the work of time; we must lay hold on all opportunities, and let slip no occasion, else we shall be forced to weave Penelope's web, unravel in the night what we spun in the day. And therefore I have observed, that time is painted with a lock before, and bald behind, signifying thereby, that we must take time (as we say) by the forelock, for when it is once past, there is no recalling it.

The mind of man is at first (if you will pardon the expression) like a *tabula rasa*, or like wax, which, while it is soft, is capable of any impression, till time has hardened it. And at length death, that grim tyrant, stops us in the midst of our carreer. The greatest conquerors have at last been conquered by death, which spares none, from the sceptre to the spade.

Mors omnibus communis.

All rivers go to the sea, but none return from it. Xerxes wept when he beheld his army, to consider that in less than an hundred years they would be all dead: Anacreon was choaked with a grape-stone; and violent joy kills as well as violent grief. There is nothing in this world constant, but inconstancy; yet Plato thought, that if virtue would appear to the world in her own native dress, all men would be enamoured with her. But now, since interest governs the world, and men neglect the golden mean, Jupiter himself, if he came on the earth, would be despised, unless it were, as he did to Danae, in a golden shower: for we now-a-days worship the rising sun, and not the setting.

Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos

Thus have I, in obedience to your commands, ventured to expose myself to censure in this critical age. Whether I have done right to my subject must be left to the judgement of the learned reader: however, I cannot but hope, that my attempting of it may be an encouragement for some able pen to perform it with more success.

PREDICTIONS for the year 1708 *.

Wherein the month, and day of the month, are set down, the persons named, and the great actions and events of next year particularly related, as they will come to pass.

Written to prevent the people of England from being farther imposed on by the vulgar almanack-makers.

By ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.

I HAVE long considered the gross abuse of astrology in this kingdom, and upon debating the matter with myself, I could not possibly lay the

* It is said, that the author, when he had writ this paper, and being at a loss what name to prefix to it, passing through Longacre, observed a sign over a house where a locksmith dwelt, and found the name *Bickerstaff* written under it: which being a name somewhat uncommon, he chose to call himself *Isaac Bickerstaff*. This name was some time afterwards made use of by Sir Richard Steele, and Mr. Addison, in the Tatlers; in which papers, as well as many of the Spectators, it is well known, that the author had a considerable part. *Dub. edit.*

The papers which relate to Partridge the almanack-maker, are entirely humorous: and although they are not only temporary but local; yet, by an art peculiar to Swift himself, they are rendered immortal, so as to be read with pleasure, as long as the English language subsists. *Orrery.*

In the papers relating to Partridge the almanack-maker, those who have a taste for mirth and humour, will find abundance of entertainment. They are designed as a ridicule upon all that foolish tribe, who set up for astrologers, and without one rag of learning are great pretenders to science. The elegy on Partridge (in vol. vii. p. 204.) can never be sufficiently relished by those who are unacquainted with those whimsical tracts. However, it is a point worth observing, that upon all occasions Dr. Swift remembered the fanatical party; neither would he allow a poor cobler, starmonger, and quack, to go out of the world, until, upon his death-bed, he had declared himself a nonconformist, and had a fanatic preacher to be his spiritual guide. *Swift.*

fault upon the art, but upon thoſe groſs impoſtors, who ſet up to be the artiſts. I know ſeveral learned men have contended, that the whole is a cheat; that it is abſurd and ridiculous to imagine, the ſtars can have any influence at all upon human actions, thoughts, or inclinations; and whoever hath not bent his ſtudies that way, may be excuſed for thinking ſo, when he ſees in how wretched a manner that noble art is treated by a few mean illiterate traders between us and the ſtars; who import a yearly ſtock of nonſenſe, lyes, folly, and impertinence, which they offer to the world as genuine from the planets, though they deſcend from no greater a height than their own brains.

I intend in a ſhort time to publiſh a large and rational defence of this art, and therefore ſhall ſay no more in its juſtification at preſent, than that it hath been in all ages defended by many learned men, and among the reſt by Socrates himſelf, whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wiſeſt of uninſpired mortals; to which if we add, that thoſe who have condemned his art, though otherwiſe learned, having been ſuch as either did not apply their ſtudies this way, or at leaſt did not ſucceed in their applications; their teſtimony will not be of much weight to its diſadvantage, ſince they are liable to the common objection of condemning what they did not underſtand.

Nor am I at all offended, or do I think it an injury to the art, when I ſee the common dealers in it, the *ſtudents in aſtrology*, the *philomaths*, and the reſt of that tribe, treated by wiſe men with the utmoſt ſcorn and contempt; but I rather wonder, when I obſerve gentlemen in the country, rich enough to ſerve the nation in parliament, poring into Patridge's almanack, to find out the events of the year, at home and abroad; not daring to propoſe a hunting match, till Gadbury or he have fixed the weather.

I will

I will allow either of the two I have mentioned, or any other of the fraternity, to be not only aſtrologers, but conjurers too, if I do not produce a hundred inſtances in all their almanacks to convince any reaſonable man, that they do not ſo much as underſtand common grammar and ſyntax; that they are not able to ſpell any word out of the uſual road, nor even in their prefaces to write common ſenſe or intelligible Engliſh. Then for their obſervations and predictions, they are ſuch as will equally ſuit any age or country in the world. *This month a certain great perſon will be threatened with death or ſickneſs.* This the news papers will tell them; for there we find at the end of the year, that no month paſſes without the death of ſome perſon of note; and it would be hard, if it ſhould be otherwiſe, when there are at leaſt two thouſand perſons of note in this kingdom, many of them old, and the almanack-maker has the liberty of chuſing the ſickſieſt ſeaſon of the year, where he may fix his prediction. Again, *this month an eminent clergyman will be preferred*; of which there may be ſome hundreds, half of them with one foot in the grave. Then, *ſuch a planet in ſuch a houſe, ſhews great machinations, plots and conſpiracies, that may in time be brought to light:* after which, if we hear of any diſcovery, the aſtrologer gets the honour; if not, his prediction ſtill ſtands good. And at laſt. *God preſerve King William from all his open and ſecret enemies, Amen.* When, if the King ſhould happen to have died, the aſtrologer plainly foretold it; otherwiſe it paſſeth but for the pious ejaculation of a loyal ſubject; though it unluckily happened in ſome of their almanaks, that poor King William was prayed for many months after he was dead, becauſe it fell out, that he died about the beginning of the year.

To mention no more of their impertinent predictions, what have we to do with their advertiſe-

ments about *pills and drink for the venereal diſeaſe?* or their mutual quarrels in verſe and proſe of Whig and Tory, wherewith the ſtars have little to do?

Having long obſerved and lamented theſe, and a hundred other abuſes of this art, too tedious to repeat, I reſolved to proceed in a new way, which I doubt not will be to the general ſatisfaction of the kingdom: I can this year produce but a ſpecimen of what I deſign for the future; having employed moſt part of my time in adjuſting and correcting the calculations I made ſome years paſt, becauſe I would offer nothing to the world, of which I am not as fully ſatisfied, as that I am now alive. For theſe two laſt years, I have not failed in above one or two particulars, and thoſe of no very great moment. I exactly foretold the miſcarriage at Toulon, with all its particulars, and the loſs of Admiral Shovel; though I was miſtaken as to the day, placing that accident about thirty ſix hours ſooner than it happened; but upon reviewing my ſchemes, I quickly found the cauſe of that error. I likewiſe foretold the battle of Almanza to the very day and hour, with the loſs on both ſides, and the conſequences thereof. All which I ſhewed to ſome friends many months before they happened, that is, I gave them papers ſealed up, to open at ſuch a time, after which they were at liberty to read them; and there they found my predictions true in every article, except one or two very minute.

As for the few following predictions I now offer the world, I forebore to publiſh them, till I had peruſed the ſeveral almanacks for the year we are now entered upon. I found them all in the uſual ſtrain, and I beg the reader will compare their manner with mine: and here I make bold to tell the world, that I lay the whole credit of my art upon the truth of theſe predictions; and I will be content, that Partridge, and the reſt of his clan

may

may hoot me for a cheat and impoſtor, if I fail in any ſingle particular of moment. I believe, any man who reads this paper, will look upon me to be at leaſt a perſon of as much honeſty and underſtanding, as a common maker of almanacks. I do not lurk in the dark; I am not wholly unknown in the world; I have ſet my name at length, to be a mark of infamy to mankind, if they ſhall find I deceive them.

In one point I muſt deſire to be forgiven, that I talk more ſparingly of home-affairs: as it would be imprudence to diſcover ſecrets of ſtate, ſo it might be dangerous to my perſon; but in ſmaller matters, and ſuch as are not of public conſequence, I ſhall be very free; and the truth of my conjectures will as much appear from theſe as the other. As for the moſt ſignal events abroad, in France, Flanders, Italy and Spain, I ſhall make no ſcruple to predict them in plain terms: ſome of them are of importance, and I hope I ſhall ſeldom miſtake the day they will happen; therefore, I think good to inform the reader, that I all along make uſe of the *old ſtyle*, obſerved in England, which I deſire he will compare with that of the news-papers, at the time they relate the actions I mention.

I muſt add one word more: I know it hath been the opinion of ſeveral learned perſons, who think well enough of the true art of aſtrology, that the ſtars do only incline, and not force the actions or wills of men: and therefore, however I may proceed by right rules, yet I cannot in prudence ſo confidently aſſure the events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I hope I have naturally conſidered this objection, which in ſome caſes is of no little weight. For example: a man may, by the influence of an overruling planet, be diſpoſed or inclined to luſt, rage, or avarice, and yet by the force of reaſon overcome that evil influence; and this was the caſe of Socra-

tes

tes *: but the great events of the world, usually depending upon numbers of men, it cannot be expected they should all unite to cross their inclinations, for pursuing a general design, wherein they unanimously agree. Besides, the influence of the stars reaches to many actions and events, which are not any way in the power of reason; as sickness, death, and what we commonly call accidents, with many more needless to repeat.

But now it is time to proceed to my predictions, which I have begun to calculate from the time that the sun enters into Aries. And this I take to be properly the beginning of the natural year. I pursue them to the time that he enters Libra, or somewhat more, which is the busy period of the year. The remainder I have not yet adjusted, upon account of several impediments needless here to mention: besides, I must remind the reader again, that this is but a specimen of what I design in succeeding years to treat more at large, if I may have liberty and encouragement.

My first prediction is but a trifle; yet I will mention it, to shew how ignorant those sottish pretenders to astrology are in their own concerns: it relates to Partridge the almanack-maker; I have consulted the star of his nativity by my own rules, and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of March next, about eleven at night, of a raging fever; therefore I advise him to consider of it, and settle his affairs in time.

The month of April will be observable for the death of many great persons. On the 4th will die the Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris: on

* A physiognomist being brought by Socrates's scholars, to examine the features of their master, pronounced him, according to the rules of art, passionate, intemperate, and libidinous; and when he was reproached and derided by them for a judgement so remote from the truth. Socrates rescued him from their insult, by declaring, that his natural disposition was such as had been described, before it was corrected by the study of philosophy.

the

the 11th, the young Prince of Aſturias, ſon to the Duke of Anjou: on the 14th, a great peer of this realm will die at his country-houſe: on the 19th, an old layman of great fame for learning: and on the 23d, an eminent goldſmith in Lombard-ſtreet. I could mention others, both at home and abroad, if I did not conſider ſuch events of very little uſe or inſtruction to the reader, or to the world.

As to public affairs: on the 7th of this month there will be an inſurrection in Dauphiny, occaſioned by the oppreſſion of the people, which will not be quieted in ſome months.

On the 15th, will be a violent ſtorm on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of France, which will deſtroy many of their ſhips, and ſome in the very harbour.

The 19th will be famous for the revolt of a whole province or kingdom, excepting one city, by which the affairs of a certain prince in the alliance will take a better face.

May, againſt common conjectures, will be no very buſy month in Europe, but very ſignal for the death of the Dauphin, which will happen on the the 7th, after a ſhort fit of ſickneſs, and grievous torments with the ſtrangury. He dies leſs lamented by the court than the kingdom.

On the 9th, a mareſchal of France will break his leg by a fall from his horſe. I have not been able to diſcover whether he will then die or not.

On the 11th, will begin a moſt important ſiege, which the eyes of all Europe will be upon: I cannot be more particular: for in relating affairs that ſo nearly concern the confederates, and conſequently this kingdom, I am forced to confine myſelf, for ſeveral reaſons very obvious to the reader.

On the 15th, news will arrive of a very ſurpriſing event, than which nothing could be more unexpected.

On the 19th, three noble ladies of this kingdom will, againſt all expectation, prove with child, to the great joy of their huſbands.

On

On the 23d, a famous buffoon of the play-houſe will die a ridiculous death, ſuitable to his vocation.

June. This month will be diſtinguiſhed at home, by the utter diſperſing of thoſe ridiculous deluded enthuſiaſts, commonly called *the Prophets*; occaſioned chiefly by ſeeing the time come, when many of their prophecies ſhould be fulfilled, and then finding themſelves deceived by contrary events. It is indeed to be admired, how any deceiver can be ſo weak to foretel things near at hand, when a very few months muſt of neceſſity diſcover the impoſture to all the world; in this point leſs prudent than common almanack makers, who are ſo wiſe to wander in generals, and talk dubiouſly, and leave to the reader the buſineſs of interpreting.

On the 1ſt of this month, a French general will be killed by a random ſhot of a cannon-ball.

On the 6th, a fire will break out in the ſuburbs of Paris, which will deſtroy above a thouſand houſes; and ſeems to be the foreboding of what will happen, to the ſurprize of all Europe, about the end of the following month.

On the 10th, a great battle will be fought, which will begin at four of the clock in the afternoon, and laſt till nine at night with great obſtinacy, but no very deciſive event. I ſhall not name the place, for the reaſons aforeſaid; but the commanders on each left wing will be killed——I ſee bonfires, and hear the noiſe of guns for a victory.

On the 14th, there will be a falſe report of the French king's death.

On the 20th, Cardinal Portocarero will die of a dyſentery, with great ſuſpicion of poiſon; but the report of his intention to revolt to King Charles will prove falſe.

July. The 6th of this month, a certain general will, by a glorious action, recover the reputation he loſt by former misfortunes.

On

On the 12th, a great commander will die a prisoner in the hands of his enemies.

On the 14th, a shameful discovery will be made, of a French Jesuit giving poison to a great foreign general; and when he is put to the torture, he will make wonderful discoveries.

In short, this will prove a month of great action, if I might have liberty to relate the particulars.

At home, the death of an old famous senator will happen, on the 15th, at his country-house, worn with age and diseases.

But that which will make this month memorable to all posterity, is the death of the French king, Lewis the Fourteenth, after a week's sickness at Marli, which will happen on the 29th, about six o'clock in the evening. It seems to be an effect of the gout in his stomach, followed by a flux. And in three days after, Monsieur Chamillard will follow his master, dying suddenly of an apoplexy.

In this month likewise an ambassador will die in London; but I cannot assign the day.

August. The affairs of France will seem to suffer no change for a while under the Duke of Burgundy's administration; but the genius that animated the whole machine being gone, will be the cause of mighty turns and revolutions in the following year. The new king makes yet little change either in the army or the ministry; but the libels against his grandfather, that fly about his very court, give him uneasiness.

I see an express in mighty haste, with joy and wonder in his looks, arriving by break of day on the 26th of this month, having travelled in three days a prodigious journey by land and sea. In the evening I hear bells and guns, and see the blazing of a thousand bonefires.

A young admiral of noble birth does likewise this month gain immortal honour by a great atchievement.

The

The affairs of Poland are this month entirely settled: Auguſtus reſigns his pretenſions, which he had again taken up for ſome time: Staniſlaus is peaceably poſſeſſed of the throne; and the king of Sweden declares for the Emperor.

I cannot omit one particular accident here at home; that, near the end of this month, much miſchief will be done at Bartholomew fair, by the fall of a booth.

September. This month begins with a very ſurpriſing fit of froſty weather, which will laſt near twelve days.

The Pope having long languiſhed laſt month, the ſwellings in his legs breaking, and the fleſh mortifying, will die on the 11th inſtant: and in three weeks time, after a mighty conteſt, be ſucceeded by a cardinal of the imperial faction, but a native of Tuſcany, who is now about ſixty-one years old.

The French army acts now wholly on the defenſive, ſtrongly fortified in their trenches; and the young French king ſends overtures for a treaty of peace by the Duke of Mantua; which, becauſe it is matter of ſtate that concerns us here at home, I ſhall ſpeak no farther of.

I ſhall add but one prediction more, and that in myſtical terms, which ſhall be included in a verſe out of Virgil.

Alter erit jam Tethys, et altera quæ vehat Argo
Delectos heroas.

Upon the 25th of this month, the fulfilling of this prediction will be manifeſt to every body.

This is the fartheſt I have proceeded in my calculations for the preſent year. I do not pretend that theſe are all the great events which will happen in this period, but that thoſe I have ſet down will infallibly come to paſs. It will perhaps ſtill be objected, why I have not ſpoke more particularly of affairs at home, or of the ſucceſs of our armies abroad, which I might, and could very largely have done;

done; but those in power have wisely discouraged men from meddling in public concerns, and I was resolved by no means to give the least offence. This I will venture to say, that it will be a glorious campaign for the allies, wherein the English forces, both by sea and land, will have their full share of honour: that her Majesty Queen ANNE will continue in health and prosperity; and that no ill accident will arrive to any in the chief ministry.

As to the particular events I have mentioned, the readers may judge by the fulfilling of them, whether I am on the level with common astrologers; who, with an old paultry cant, and a few pot-hooks for planets, to amuse the vulgar, have, in my opinion, too long been suffered to abuse the world: but an honest physician ought not to be despised, because there are such things as mountebanks. I hope I have some share of reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a frolic of humour: and I believe no gentleman who reads this paper, will look upon it to be of the same cast or mould with the common scribblers that are every day hawked about. My fortune hath placed me above the little regard of writing for a few pence, which I neither value or want: therefore let not wise men too hastily condemn this essay, intended for a good design, to cultivate and improve an ancient art, long in disgrace by having fallen into mean unskilful hands. A little time will determine, whether I have deceived others or myself: and I think it is no very unreasonable request, that men would please to suspend their judgements till then. I was once of the opinion with those who despise all predictions from the stars, till in the year 1686, a man of quality shewed me, written in his Album *, that the most

* Album is the name of a paper-book, in which it was usual for a man's friends to write down a sentence with their names, to keep them in his remembrance. It is still common in some of the foreign universities.

learned aſtronomer, Captain Halley, aſſured him he would never believe any thing of the ſtar's influence, if there was not a great revolution in England in the year 1688 Since that time I began to have other thoughts, and, after eighteen years diligent ſtudy and application, I think I have no reaſon to repent of my pains. I ſhall detain the reader no longer, than to let him know, that the account I deſign to give of next year's events, ſhall take in the principal affairs that happen in Europe; and if I be denied the liberty of offering it to my own country I ſhall appeal to the learned world, by publiſhing it in Latin, and giving order to have it printed in Holland.

Th

The ACCOMPLISHMENT of the first of Mr. BICKERSTAFF'S PREDICTIONS.

Being an ACCOUNT of the DEATH of Mr. PARTRIDGE, the Almanack-maker, upon the 29th instant *.

In a letter to a person of honour.

Written in the year 1708.

MY LORD,

IN obedience to your Lordship's commands, as well as to satisfy my own curiosity, I have for some days past enquired constantly after Partridge, the almanack-maker, of whom it was foretold in Mr. Bickerstaff's predictions, published about a month ago, that he should die the 29th instant about eleven at night, of a raging fever. I had some sort of knowledge of him, when I was employed in the revenue, because he used every year to present me with his almanack, as he did other gentlemen, upon the score of some little gratuity we gave him. I saw him accidentally once or twice about ten days before he died, and observed he began very much to droop and languish; though I hear his friends did not seem to apprehend him in any danger. About two or three days ago he grew ill, was confined first to his chamber, and in a few hours after to his bed, where Dr. Case and Mrs. Kirlews † were sent for to visit, and prescribe to him. Upon

* See an elegy on the supposed death of Partridge, in vol. vii. p. 204. and the epitaph, p. 207.

† Two famous quacks at that time.

this intelligence I sent thrice every day one servant or other to enquire after his health; and yesterday, about four in the afternoon, word was brought me, that he was past hopes: upon which I prevailed with myself to go and see him, partly out of commiseration, and, I confess, partly out of curiosity. He knew me very well, seemed surprised at my condescension, and made me compliments upon it, as well as he could in the condition he was. The people about him said, he had been for some time delirious; but when I saw him, he had his understanding as well as ever I knew, and spoke strong and hearty, without any seeming uneasiness or constraint. After I had told him how sorry I was to see him in those melancholy circumstances, and said some other civilities, suitable to the occasion, I desired him to tell me freely and ingenuously, whether the predictions Mr. Bickerstaff had published relating to his death, had not too much affected and worked on his imagination. He confessed, he had often had it in his head, but never with much apprehension, till about a fortnight before; since which time it had the perpetual possession of his mind and thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true natural cause of his present distemper: for, said he, I am thoroughly persuaded, and I think I have very good reasons, that Mr. Bickerstaff spoke altogether by guess, and knew no more what will happen this year, than I did myself. I told him his discourse surprised me; and I would be glad, he were in a state of health to be able to tell me, what reason he had to be convinced of Mr. Bickerstaff's ignorance. He replied, "I am a poor ignorant fellow, bred to a mean trade; yet I have sense enough to know, that all pretences of foretelling by astrology are deceits, for this manifest reason, because the wise and the learned, who can only judge whether there be any truth in this science, do all unanimously agree to laugh at and despise it, and none

none but the poor ignorant vulgar give it any credit, and that only upon the word of such silly wretches as I and my fellows, who can hardly write or read." I then asked him, why he had not calculated his own nativity, to see whether it agreed with Bickerstaff's prediction? at which he shook his head, and said, "Oh! Sir, this is no time for jesting, but for repenting those fooleries, as I do now from the very bottom of my heart." "By what I can gather from you," said I, "the observations and predictions you printed with your almanacks, were mere impositions on the people." He replied, "If it were otherwise, I should have the less to answer for. We have a common form for all those things; as to foretelling the weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the printer, who takes it out of any old almanack as he thinks fit; the rest was my own invention to make my almanack sell, having a wife to maintain, and no other way to get my bread; for mending old shoes is a poor livelihood; and (added he, sighing,) I wish I may not have done more mischief by my physic than my astrology; though I had some good receipts from my grandmother, and my own compositions were such, as I thought could at least do no hurt."

I had some other discourse with him, which now I cannot call to mind; and I fear I have already tired your Lordship. I shall only add one circumstance, that on his death-bed he declared himself a non-conformist, and had a fanatic preacher to be his spiritual guide. After half an hour's conversation I took my leave, being almost stifled by the closeness of the room I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little coffeehouse hard by, leaving a servant at the house with orders to come immediately and tell me, as near as he could, the minute when Partridge should expire, which was not above two hours after; when looking upon my watch, I found it to be above five

minutes after ſeven; by which it is clear, that Mr. Bickerſtaff was miſtaken almoſt four hours in his calculation. In the other circumſtances he was exact enough. But whether he hath not been the cauſe of this poor man's death, as well as the predictor, may be very reaſonably diſputed. However, it muſt be confeſſed, the matter is odd enough, whether we ſhould endeavour to account for it by chance, or the effect of imagination: for my own part, though I believe no man hath leſs faith in theſe matters, yet I ſhall wait with ſome impatience, and not without ſome expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. Bickerſtaff's ſecond prediction, that the Cardinal de Noailles is to die upon the 4th of April, and if that ſhould be verified as exactly as this of poor Partridge, I muſt own I ſhould be wholly ſurpriſed, and at a loſs, and ſhould infallibly expect the accompliſhment of all the reſt.

'Squire

'Squire BICKERSTAFF detected;

OR,

The ASTROLOGICAL IMPOSTURE convicted *.

By *John Partridge*, Student in Phyſic and Aſtrology.

IT is hard, my dear countrymen of theſe united nations, it is very hard, that a Briton born, a Proteſtant aſtrologer, a man of Revolution principles, an aſſerter of the liberty and property of the people, ſhould cry out in vain for juſtice againſt a Frenchman, a Papiſt, and an illiterate pretender to ſcience, that would blaſt my reputation, moſt inhumanly bury me alive, and defraud my native country of thoſe ſervices, which, in my double capacity, I daily offer the public.

What great provocations I have received, let the impartial reader judge, and how unwillingly, even in my own defence, I now enter the liſts againſt falſehood, ignorance and envy: but I am exaſperated, at length, to drag out this Cacus † from the den of obſcurity where he lurks, detect him by the light of thoſe ſtars he has ſo imprudently traduced, and ſhew there is not a monſter in the ſkies ſo pernicious and malevolent to mankind, as an ignorant pretender to phyſic and aſtrology. I ſhall not directly fall on the many groſs errors, nor expoſe the

* This piece being on the ſame ſubject, and very rare, we have thought fit to add it, though not written by the ſame hand.

— N. B. In the Dublin edition it is ſaid to be written by the late Nicholas Rowe, Eſq; which is a miſtake: for the Rev. Dr. Yalden, preacher of Bridewell, Mr. Partridge's near neighbour, drew it up for him.

† A thief ſeized in a cavern by Hercules.

notorious

notorious abſurdities of this proſtituted libeller, till I have let the learned world fairly into the controverſy depending, and then leave the unprejudiced to judge of the merits and juſtice of my cauſe.

It was towards the concluſion of the year 1707, when an impudent pamphlet crept into the world, intitled, *Predictions*, &c. *by* Iſaac Bickerſtaff, *Eſq*; ——amongſt the many arrogant aſſertions laid down by that lying ſpirit of divination, he was pleaſed to pitch on the Cardinal de Noailles and myſelf, among many other eminent and illuſtrious perſons, that were to die within the compaſs of the enſuing year; and peremptorily fixes the month, day, and hour of our deaths: this, I think, is ſporting with great men, and public ſpirits, to the ſcandal of religion, and reproach of power; and if ſovereign princes and aſtrologers muſt make diverſion for the vulgar——why then, farewel, ſay I, to all governments, eccleſiaſtical and civil. But, I thank my better ſtars, I am alive to confront this falſe and audacious predictor, and to make him rue the hour he ever affronted a man of ſcience and reſentment. The Cardinal may take what meaſures he pleaſes with him; as his excellency is a foreigner, and a papiſt, he has no reaſon to rely on me for his juſtification; I ſhall only aſſure the world he is alive——but as he was bred to letters, and is maſter of a pen, let him uſe it in his own defence. In the mean time I ſhall preſent the public with a faithful narrative of the ungenerous treatment and hard uſage I have received from the virulent papers and malicious practices of this pretended aſtrologer.

A true and impartial account of the proceedings of Isaac Bickerstaff, Eſq; againſt me.

THE 29th of March, *Anno Dom.* 1708, being the night this ſham-prophet had ſo imprudently

dently fixed for my laſt, which made little impreſſion on myſelf, but I cannot anſwer for my whole family; for my wife, with a concern more than uſual, prevailed on me to take ſomewhat to ſweat for a cold; and, between the hours of eight and nine, to go to bed: the maid, as ſhe was warming my bed, with a curioſity natural to young wenches, runs to the window, and aſks of one paſſing the ſtreet, who the bell tolled for? Dr. Partridge, ſays he, the famous almanack maker, who died ſuddenly this evening: the poor girl provoked, told him, he lyed like a raſcal; the other very ſedately replied, the ſexton had ſo informed him, and, if falſe, he was to blame for impoſing upon a ſtranger. She aſked a ſecond, and a third, as they paſſed, and every one was in the ſame tone. Now, I do not ſay theſe are accomplices to a certain aſtrological 'ſquire, and that one Bickerſtaff might be ſauntering thereabouts: becauſe I will aſſert nothing here but what I dare atteſt for plain matter of fact. My wife at this fell into a violent diſorder; and I muſt own I was a little diſcompoſed at the oddneſs of the accident. In the mean time one knocks at my door; Betty runs down, and opening, finds a ſober grave perſon, who modeſtly enquires, if this was Dr. Partridge's? ſhe taking him for ſome cautious city-patient, that came at that time for privacy, ſhews him into the dining-room. As ſoon as I could compoſe myſelf, I went to him, and was ſurprized to find my gentleman mounted on a table with a two foot rule in his hand, meaſuring my walls, and taking the dimenſions of the room. Pray Sir, ſays I, not to interrupt you, have you any buſineſs with me? only, Sir, replies he, order the girl to bring me a better light, for this is but a very dim one. Sir, ſays I, my name is Partridge: oh! the doctor's brother, belike, cries he; the ſtair-caſe, I believe, and theſe two apartments hung in cloſe mourning, will be ſufficient,

cient, and only a ſtrip of bays round the other ooms. The doctor muſt needs, die rich, he had great dealings in his way for many years; if he had no family coat, you had as good uſe the eſcutcheons of the company; they are as ſhowiſh, and will look as magnificent as if he was deſcended from the blood royal. With that I aſſumed a greater air of authority, and demanded who employed him; or how he came there? Why, I was ſent, Sir, by the company of undertakers, ſays he, and they were employed by the honeſt gentleman who is executor to the good doctor departed; and our raſcally porter, I believe is fallen faſt aſleep with the black cloath and ſconces, or he had been here, and we might have been tacking up by this time. Sir, ſays I, pray be adviſed by a friend, and make the beſt of your ſpeed out of my doors; for I hear my wife's voice (which, by the bye, is pretty diſtinguiſhable), and in that corner of the room ſtands a good cudgel, which ſomebody has felt before now; if that light in her hands, and ſhe know the the buſineſs you come about, without conſulting the ſtars, I can aſſure you it will be employed very much to the detriment of your perſon. Sir, cries he, bowing with great civility, I perceive extreme grief for the loſs of the doctor diſorders you a little at preſent, but early in the morning I will wait on you with all neceſſary materials. Now I mention no Mr. Bickerſtaff; nor do I ſay, that a certain ſtar-gazing 'ſquire has been playing my executor before his time; but I leave the world to judge; and he that puts things and things fairly together, will not be much wide of the mark.

Well, once more I got my doors cloſed, and prepared for bed, in hopes of a little repoſe after ſo many ruffling adventures; juſt as I was putting out my light in order to it, another bounces as hard as he can knock; I open the window, and aſk who is there, and what he wants; I am Ned the Sexton,

Sexton, replies he, and come to know whether the doctor left any orders for a funeral sermon, and where he is to be laid, and whether his grave is to be plain or bricked? Why, sirrah, says I, you know me well enough; and you know I am not dead, and how dare you affront me after this manner? Alack-a-day, Sir, replies the fellow, why it is in print, and the whole town knows you are dead; why, there is Mr. White the joiner is but fitting screws to your coffin; he will be here with it in an instant; he was afraid you would have wanted it before this time. Sirrah, sirrah, says I, you shall know to morrow, to your cost, that I am alive, and alive like to be. Why, it is strange, Sir, says he, you should make such a secret of your death to us that are your neighbours; it looks as if you had a design to defraud the church of its dues; and let me tell you, for one that has lived so long by the heavens, that is unhandsomely done. Hist, hist, says another rogue that stood by him; away, doctor, into your flannel gear as fast as you can, for here is a whole pack of dismals coming to you with their black equipage, and how indecent will it look for you to stand frightening folks at your window, when you should have been in your coffin this three hours? in short, what with undertakers, embalmers, joiners, sextons, and your damned elegy-hawkers, upon a late practitioner in physic and astrology, I got not one wink of sleep that night, nor scarce a moment's rest ever since. Now I doubt not, but this villainous 'squire has the impudence to assert, that these are entirely strangers to him; he, good man, knows nothing of the matter, and honest Isaac Bickerstaff, I warrant you, is more a man of honour, than to be an accomplice with a pack of rascals, that walk the streets on nights, and disturb good people in their beds; but he is out, if he thinks the whole world is blind; for there is one John Partridge can smell

a knave

a knave as far as Grubſtreet,—although he lies in the moſt exalted garret, and writes himſelf 'ſquire: —but I will keep my temper, and proceed in the narration.

I could not ſtir out of doors for the ſpace of three months after this, but preſently one comes up to me in the ſtreet? Mr. Partridge, that coffin you was laſt buried in, I have not yet been paid for: doctor, cries another dog, how do you think people can live by making of graves for nothing? next time you die, you may even toll out the bell yourſelf for Ned. A third rogue tips me by the elbow, and wonders how I have the conſcience to ſneak abroad without paying my funeral expences. Lord ſays one, I durſt have ſwore that was honeſt Dr. Partridge, my old friend: but poor man, he is gone. I beg your pardon, ſays another, you look ſo like my old acquaintance, that I uſed to conſult on ſome private occaſions; but, alack, he is gone the way of all fleſh.——Look, look, look, cries a third, after a competent ſpace of ſtaring at me, would not one think our neighbour the almanack-maker was crept out of his grave to take the other peep at the ſtars in this world, and ſhew how much he is improved in fortune telling, by having taken a journey to the other?

Nay, the very reader of our pariſh, a good ſober, diſcreet perſon, has ſent two or three times for me to come and be buried decently, or ſend him ſufficient reaſons to the contrary; or, if I have been interred in any other pariſh, to produce my certificate, as the act * requires. My poor wife is almoſt run diſtracted with being called widow Partridge, when ſhe knows it is falſe; and once a term ſhe is cited into the court, to take out letters

* The ſtatute of 30. Car. II. for burying in woollen, requires, that oath ſhall be made of the compliance with this act, and a certificate thereof lodged with the miniſter of the pariſh, within eight days after interment.

of administration. But the greatest grievance is, a paultry quack, that takes up my calling just under my nose, and in his printed directions, with *N. B.* says, he lives in the house of the late ingenious Mr. Partridge, and eminent practitioner in leather, physic, and astrology.

But to shew how far the wicked spirit of envy, malice, and resentment, can hurry some men, my nameless old persecutor had provided me a monument at the stone cutter's, and would have erected it in the parish-church; and this piece of notorious and expensive villainy had actually succeeded, if I had not used my utmost interest with the vestry, where it was carried at last but by two voices, that I am alive. That stratagem failing, out comes a long fable elegy, bedecked with hour-glasses, mattocks, sculls, spades, and skeletons, with an epitaph as confidently written to abuse me, and my profession, as if I had been under ground these twenty years.

And, after such barbarous treatment as this, can the world blame me, when I ask, what is become of the freedom of an Englishman? and where is the liberty and property, that my *old glorious friend* came over to assert? we have drove Popery out of the nation, and sent slavery to foreign climes. The arts only remain in bondage, when a man of science and character shall be openly insulted in the midst of the many useful services he is daily paying the public. Was it ever heard, even in Turkey or Algiers, that a state astrologer was bantered out of his life by an ignorant impostor, or bawled out of the world by a pack of villainous, deep-mouthed hawkers? though I print almanacks, and publish advertisements; though I produce certificates under the ministers and church wardens hands I am alive, and attest the same on oath at quarter-sessions, out comes a full and true relation of the death and interment of John Partridge; truth is

bore down, atteſtations neglected, the teſtimony of ſober perſons deſpiſed, and a man is looked upon by his neighbours as if he had been ſeven years dead, and is buried alive in the midſt of his friends and acquaintance.

Now, can any man of common ſenſe think it conſiſtent with the honour of my profeſſion, and not much beneath the dignity of a philoſopher, to ſtand bawling before his own door?—alive! alive ho! the famous Dr Partridge! no counterfeit, but all alive!—as if I had the twelve celeſtial monſters of the *zoadic* to ſhew within, or was forced for a livelihood to turn retailer to May and Bartholomew fairs. Therefore, if her Majeſty would but graciouſly be pleaſed to think a hardſhip of this nature worthy her royal conſideration, and the next parliament, in their great wiſdom, caſt but an eye towards the deplorable caſe of their old *philomath*, that annually beſtows his poetical good wiſhes on them, I am ſure there is one Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq; would ſoon be truſſed up for his bloody predictions, and putting good ſubjects in terror of their lives: and that henceforward to murder a man by way of prophecy, and bury him in a printed letter, either to a Lord or a Commoner, ſhall as legally entitle him to the preſent poſſeſſion of Tyburn, as if he robbed on the highway, or cut your throat in bed.

I ſhall demonſtrate to the judicious, that France and Rome are at the bottom of this horrid conſpiracy againſt me; and that Culprit aforeſaid is a Popiſh emiſſary, has paid his viſits to S. Germains, and is now in the meaſures of Lewis XIV: That in attempting my reputation, there is a general maſſacre of learning deſigned in theſe realms; and through my ſides there is a wound given to all the Proteſtant almanack-makers in the univerſe.

Vivat Regina.

A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; against what is objected to him by Mr. Partridge, in his almanack for the present year 1709.

By the said Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq;

Written in the year 1709.

Mr. Partridge hath been lately pleased to treat me after a very rough manner, in that which is called, his almanack for the present year: such usage is very undecent from one gentleman to another, and doth not at all contribute to the discovery of truth, which ought to be the great end in all disputes of the learned. To call a man fool and villain, and impudent fellow, only for differing from him in a point merely speculative, is, in my humble opinion, a very improper style for a person of his education. I appeal to the learned world, whether in my last year's predictions I gave him the least provocation for such unworthy treatment. Philosophers have differed in all ages; but the discreetest among them have always differed as became philosophers. Scurrility and passion, in a controversy among scholars, is just so much of nothing to the purpose, and, at best, a tacit confession of a weak cause: my concern is not so much for my own reputation, as that of the republic of letters, which Mr. Partridge hath endeavoured to wound through my sides. If men of public spirit must be superciliously treated for their ingenious attempts, how will true useful knowledge be ever advanced? I wish Mr. Partridge knew the thoughts which foreign universities have conceived of his ungenerous pro-

ceedings with me; but I am too tender of his reputation to publiſh them to the world. That ſpirit of envy and pride, which blaſts ſo many riſing geniuſes in our nation, is yet unknown among profeſſors abroad: the neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf will excuſe my vanity, when I tell the reader, that I have near a hundred honorary letters from ſeveral parts of Europe, (ſome as far as Muſcovy,) in praiſe of my performance; beſides ſeveral others, which, as I have been credibly informed, were opened at the poſt-office, and never ſent me. It is true, the inquiſition in Portugal was * pleaſed to burn my predictions, and condemn the author and readers of them; but I hope at the ſame time, it will be conſidered, in how deplorable a ſtate learning lies at preſent in that kingdom: and, with the profoundeſt veneration for crowned head, I will preſume to add, that it a little concerned his Majeſty of Portugal to interpoſe his authority in behalf of a ſcholar and a gentleman, the ſubject of a nation with which he is now in ſo ſtrict an alliance. But the other kingdoms and ſtates of Europe have treated me with more candour and generoſity. If I had leave to print the Latin letters tranſmitted to me from foreign parts, they would fill a volume, and be a full defence againſt all that Mr. Partridge, or his accomplices of the Portugal inquiſition, will be ever able to object; who, by the way, are the only enemies my predictions have ever met with at home or abroad. But I hope I know better, what is due to the honour of a learned correſpondence in ſo tender a point. Yet ſome of thoſe illuſtrious perſons will perhaps excuſe me for tranſcribing a paſſage or two in my vindication †. The moſt learned Monſieur

* This is fact, as the author was aſſured by Sir Paul Methuen, then ambaſſador to that crown.

† The quotations here inſerted, are in imitation of Dr. Bentley, in ſome part of the famous controverſy between him and Mr. Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery.

Leibnitz

Leibnitz thus addreſſes to me his third letter: *Illuſtriſſimo Bickerſtaffio aſtrologiæ inſtauratori*, &c. Monſieur le Clerk, quoting my predictions in a treatiſe he publiſhed laſt year, is pleaſed to ſay, *ita nuperrime Bickerſtaffius, magnum illud Angliæ ſidus.* Another great profeſſor, writing of me, has theſe words: *Bickerſtaffius, nobilis Anglus, aſtrologorum hujuſce ſæculi facile princeps.* Signior *Maggliabecchi*, the Great Duke's famous library-keeper, ſpends almoſt his whole letter in compliments and praiſes. It is true, the renowned profeſſor of aſtronomy at Utrecht, ſeems to differ from me in one article; but it is after the modeſt manner that becomes a philoſopher; as, *pace tanti viri dixerim:* and page 55, he ſeems to lay the error upon the printer, (as indeed it ought,) and ſays, *vel forſan error typographi, cum alioquin Bickerſtaffius vir doctiſſimus*, &c.

If Mr. Partridge had followed theſe examples in the controverſy between us, he might have ſpared me the trouble of juſtifying myſelf in ſo public a manner. I believe no man is readier to own his errors than I, or more thankful to thoſe who will pleaſe to inform him of them. But it ſeems this gentleman, inſtead of encouraging the progreſs of his own art, is pleaſed to look upon all attempts of that kind as an invaſion of his province. He hath been indeed ſo wiſe to make no objection againſt the truth of my predictions, except in one ſingle point relating to himſelf: and to demonſtrate how much men are blinded by their own partiality, I do ſolemnly aſſure the reader, that he is the only perſon from whom I ever heard that objection offered; which conſideration alone, I think, will take off all its weight.

With my utmoſt endeavours I have not been able to trace above two objections ever made againſt the truth of my laſt year's prophecies: the firſt was of a Frenchman, who was pleaſed to publiſh to the world, that "the Cardinal de Noailles

was ſtill alive, notwithſtanding the pretended prophecy of monſieur Biquerſtaffe:" but how far a Frenchman, a Papiſt, and an enemy, is to be believed in his own cauſe againſt an Engliſh Proteſtant, who is true to the government, I ſhall leave to the candid and impartial reader.

The other objection is the unhappy occaſion of this diſcourſe, and relates to an article in my predictions, which foretold the death of Mr. Partridge to happen on March 29, 1708. That he is pleaſed to contradict abſolutely in the almanack he hath publiſhed for the preſent year, and in that ungentlemanly manner, (pardon the expreſſion,) as I have above related. In that work he very roundly aſſerts, that he "is not only now alive, but was likewiſe alive upon that very 29th of March, when I had foretold he ſhould die." This is the ſubject of the preſent controverſy between us; which I deſign to handle with all brevity, perſpicuity, and calmneſs; in this diſpute, I am ſenſible the eyes not only of England, but of all Europe, will be upon us; and the learned in every country will, I doubt not, take part on that ſide, where they find moſt appearance of reaſon and truth.

Without entering into criticiſms of chronology about the hour of his death, I ſhall only prove that Mr. Partridge is not alive. And my firſt argument is thus: above a thouſand gentlemen having bought his almanacks for this year, merely to find what he ſaid againſt me; at every line they read, they would lift up their eyes, and cry out, betwixt rage and laughter, "they were ſure no man alive ever writ ſuch damned ſtuff as this." Neither did I ever hear that opinion diſputed: ſo that Mr. Partridge lies under a dilemma, either of diſowning his almanack, or allowing himſelf to be no man alive. But now if an uninformed carcaſe walks ſtill about, and is pleaſed to call itſelf Partridge, Mr. Bickerſtaff does not think himſelf any way anſwerable for that.

Neither

Neither had the ſaid carcaſe any right to beat the poor boy, who happened to paſs by it in the ſtreet, crying, "A full and true account of Dr. Partridge's death," &c.

Secondly, Mr. Partridge pretends to tell fortunes, and recover ſtollen goods; which all the pariſh ſays, he muſt do by converſing with the Devil and other evil ſpirits: and no wiſe man will ever allow, he could converſe perſonally with either till after he was dead.

Thirdly, I will plainly prove him to be dead out of his own almanack for this year, and from the very paſſage, which he produceth to make us think him alive. He there ſays, "he is not only now alive, but was alſo alive upon that very 29th of March, which I foretold he ſhould die on:" by this, he declares his opinion, that a man may be alive now, who was not alive a twelvemonth ago. And indeed, there lies the ſophiſtry of his argument. He dares not aſſert, he was alive ever ſince that 29th of March, but that he is now alive, and was ſo on that day: I grant the latter; for he did not die till night, as appears by the printed account of his death, in a letter to a lord; and whether he be ſince revived, I leave the world to judge. This indeed is perfect cavilling, and I am aſhamed to dwell any longer upon it.

Fourthly, I will appeal to Mr. Partridge himſelf, whether it be probable I could have been ſo indiſcreet, to begin my predictions with the only falſehood, that ever was pretended to be in them; and this is in an affair at home, where I had ſo many opportunities to be exact; and muſt have given ſuch advantages againſt me to a perſon of Mr. Partridge's wit and learning, who, if he could poſſibly have raiſed one ſingle objection more againſt the truth of my prophecies, would hardly have ſpared me.

And here I muſt take occaſion to reprove the abovementioned writer of the relation of Mr. Partridge's

tridge's death, in a letter to a lord; who was pleased to tax me with a mistake of four whole hours in my calculation of that event. I must confess, this censure pronounced with an air of certainty, in a matter that so nearly concerned me, and by a grave judicious author, moved me not a little. But though I was at that time out of town, yet several of my friends, whose curiosity had led them to be exactly informed, (for as to my own part, having no doubt at all in the matter, I never once thought of it,) assured me, I computed to something under half an hour; which (I speak my private opinion,) is an error of no very great magnitude, that men should raise a clamour about it. I shall only say, it would not be amiss, if that author would henceforth be more tender of other men's reputations as well as his own. It is well there were no more mistakes of that kind; if there had, I presume he would have told me of them with as little ceremony.

There is one objection against Mr. Partridge's death, which I have sometimes met with, though indeed very slightly offered, that he still continues to write almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to all of that profession; Gadbury, poor Robin, Dove, Wing, and several others, do yearly publish their almanacks, though several of them have been dead since before the Revolution. Now the natural reason of this I take to be, that whereas it is the privilege of other authors to live after their deaths, almanack-makers are alone excluded; because their dissertations, treating only upon the minutes as they pass, become useless as those go off. In consideration of which, Time, whose registers they are, gives them a lease in reversion, to continue their works after their death.

I should not have given the public or myself the trouble of this vindication, if my name had not been made use of by several persons, to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few days ago, was

pleased

pleaſed to father on me a new ſet of predictions. But I think theſe are things too ſerious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the heart, when I ſaw my labours, which had coſt me ſo much thought and watching, bawled about by common hawkers, which I only intended for the weighty conſideration of the graveſt perſons. This prejudiced the world ſo much at firſt, that ſeveral of my friends had the aſſurance to aſk me, whether I were in jeſt? to which I only anſwered coldly, "that the event would ſhew." But it is the talent of our age and nation, to turn things of the greateſt importance into ridicule. When the end of the year had verified all my predictions, out comes Mr. Partridge's almanack, diſputing the point of his death; ſo that I am employed, like the general who was forced to kill his enemies twice over, whom a necromancer had raiſed to life. If Mr. Partridge hath practiſed the ſame experiment upon himſelf, and he again alive, long may he continue ſo; that doth not in the leaſt contradict my veracity: but I think I have clearly proved, by invincible demonſtration, that he died at fartheſt within half an hour of the time I foretold, and not four hours ſooner as the abovementioned author, in his letter to a lord, hath maliciouſly ſuggeſted, with deſign to blaſt my credit, by charging me with ſo groſs a miſtake.

A famous PREDICTION of MERLIN, the Britiſh Wizard *.

Written above a thouſand years ago, and relating to the year 1709.

With explanatory notes, by T. N. Philomath.

Written in the year 1709.

LAST year was publiſhed a paper of predictions, pretended to be written by one Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq; but the true deſign of it was to ridicule the art of aſtrology, and expoſe its profeſſors as ignorant or impoſtors. Againſt this imputation Dr. Partridge

* Dr. Swift, in his preface to this piece would inſinuate, that what he publiſhes to the world is a tranſlation of Merlin's prophecy 200 years old. The main deſign of the Doctor in this prediction, if he was really in earneſt, (which I verily believe he was not, as I am perſuadad that he only writ this prophecy, in order to vex the Whigs, and to fret that ungrateful miniſtry, which had forgotten the obligations he had conferred upon them,) was, to encourage Q. Anne to a ſecond marriage, in order that her Majeſty might repair, if poſſible, that infinite loſs ſhe had ſuſtained by the Duke of Glocester, who, by all accounts, was one of the fineſt princes that ever was born in England, and accordingly was univerſally regretted by the whole nation, the fanatical party and all their black adherents only excepted. This appears from the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th lines of the prophecy.

And without diſpute, as in England there were many thouſands, who were deſirous to ſee a prince deſcended from a Queen, whom they loved with ſuch ardour and affection; ſo, in the wildneſs of their imagination, they endeavoured to perſuade her Majeſty at the age of about forty-five to marry a ſecond time. But whether it was owing to that exceſſive regard which ſhe bore unto the memory of her beloved, the Prince of Denmark; or whether it was becauſe ſhe never had a child after the age of five or ſix and twenty; or whe her it was for ſome political reaſon or other, ſhe refuſed in this reſpect to gratify the inclinations of her people; which however, as animoſities and factions were then riſing to an exceſſive height, ſhe had cauſe to repent of before the time of her deceaſe. For, as the Queen was driven to ſuch inexpreſſible ſtraits by the fury and machinations of the contending

Partridge hath learnedly vindicated himſelf in his almanack for that year.

For a farther vindication of this famous art, I have thought fit to preſent the world with the following prophecy. The original is ſaid to be of the famous Merlin, who lived about a thouſand years ago; and the following tranſlation is two hundred years old; for it ſeems to be written near the end of Henry the Seventh's reign. I found it in an old edition of Merlin's prophecies, imprinted at London by John Hawkins in the year 1530, page 39, I ſet it down word for word in the old orthography, and ſhall take leave to ſubjoin a few explanatory notes.

Seven and ten addyd to nine,
Of Fraunce her woe this is the ſygne,
Tamys rivere twys y-frozen,
Walke ſans wetying ſhoes ne hozen.
Then comyth foorthe, ich underſtonde,
From towne of Stoffe to fattyn Londe,
An herdie Chyftan, woe the morne
To Fraunce, that ever he was born.
Then ſhall the fyſhe beweyle his boſſe:
Nor ſhall grin berrys make up the loſſe.
Yonge Symnele ſhall again miſcarrye:
And Norway's pryd * again ſhall marrey.

tending parties, that, with all her experience in government, ſhe knew not whom to truſt; if ſhe had married ſome wiſe and thoughtful prince, entirely remote from all pretenſions to the crown, (ſuppoſing that ſuch a one could have been found in Europe at that time,) ſhe might have paſſed the remainder of her life with more eaſe and tranquillity. For as a prince in that ſituation would have had nothing more to do, than to have made the Queen happy and her reign glorious, he might have acted as moderator between both parties, ſecured unto himſelf the eſteem of all the wiſe and virtuous, and perhaps, after the deceaſe of the Queen, might have been highly regarded by her ſucceſſor during the remainder of his life. But alas! party-rage carried all before it, and every ſcheme of accommodation was equally rejected by Whigs and Tories. *Swift.*

* Q. Anne is called *Norway's Pryd*, becauſe ſhe had vouchſafed to marry the Prince of Denmark; and we all know, that Norway is part of the dominion belonging to that crown. *Swift.*

And

And from the tree where blosums feele,
Ripe fruit shall come, and all is wele;
Reaums shall dance honde in honde,
And it shall be merrye in old Inglonde:
Then old Inglonde shall be no more,
And no man shall be sorie therefore.
Geryon shall have three hedes agayne,
Till Hapsburge makyth them but twayne.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

Seven and ten. This line describes the year when these events shall happen. Seven and ten make seventeen, which I explain seventeen hundred, and this number added to nine, makes the year we are now in; for it must be understood of the natural year, which begins the first of January.

Tamys river twys, &c. The river Thames frozen twice in one year, so as men could walk on it, is a very singular accident, which perhaps has not fallen out for several hundred years before, and is the reason why some astrologers have thought, that this prophecy could never be fulfilled, because they imagined such a thing would never happen in our climate.

From town of Stoffe, &c. This is a plain designation of the Duke of Malborough: One kind of stuff used to fatten land is called Marle, and every body knows that Borough is a name for a town; and this way of expression is after the usual dark manner of old astrological predictions.

Then shall the fysshe. &c. By the *fish*, is understood the *Dauphin* of France, as their king's eldest sons are called: It is here said, he shall lament the loss of the Duke of Burgundy called the Bosse, which is an old English word for hump-shoulder, or crook back as that Duke is known to be; and the prophecy seems to mean, that he should be overcome or slain. By the *green berrys*, in the next

line, is meant the young Duke of Berry, the Dauphin's third ſon, who ſhall not have valour or fortune enough to ſupply the loſs of his eldeſt brother.

Young Symnele, &c. By Symnele is meant the pretended Prince of Wales, who, if he offers to attempt any thing againſt England, ſhall miſcarry as he did before. Lambert Symnel is the name of a young man, noted in our hiſtories for perſonating the ſon (as I remember) of Edward IV.

And Norway's pride, &c. I cannot gueſs who is meant by Norway's *pride**; perhaps the reader may, as well as the ſenſe of the two following lines.

Reaums ſhall, &c. Reaums, or as the word is now, *realms*, is the old name for *kingdoms*; and this is a very plain prediction of our happy *union*, with the felicities that ſhall attend it. It is added that Old England ſhall be no more, and yet no man ſhall be ſorry for it. And indeed, properly ſpeaking, England is now no more for the whole iſland is one kingdom under the name of Britain.

Geryon ſhall, &c. This prediction, though ſomewhat obſcure, is wonderfully adapted. Geryon is ſaid to have been a king of Spain, whom Hercules ſlew. It was a fiction of the poets, that he had three heads, which the author ſays he ſhall have again: that is, Spain ſhall have three kings: which is now wonderfully verified; for beſides the king of Portugal, which properly is part of Spain, there are two rivals for Spain, Charles and Philip; but Charles being deſcended from the Count of Hapſburgh, founder of the Auſtrian family, ſhall ſoon make theſe heads but two, by overturning Philip, and driving him out of Spain.

Some of theſe predictions are already fulfilled; and it is highly probable the reſt may be in due time; and I think I have not forced the words by my explication, into any other ſenſe than what they will naturally bear. If this be granted, I am ſure

* Queen Anne.

it must be also allowed, that the author (whoever he were) was a person of extraordinary sagacity; and that Astrology brought to such a perfection as this, is by no means an art to be despised, whatever. Bickerstaff, or other merry gentlemen are pleased to think. As to the tradition of these lines having been writ in the original by Merlin, I confess I lay not much weight upon it; but it is enough to justify their authority, that the book from whence I have transcribed them, was printed 170 years ago, as appears by the title-page. For the satisfaction of any gentleman, who may be either doubtful of the truth, or curious to be informed, I shall give order to have the very book sent to the printer of this paper, with directions to let any body see it that pleases, because I believe it is very scarce.

The WONDERFUL WONDER of WONDERS.

THERE is a certain perſon lately arrived at this city, whom it is very proper the world ſhould be informed of. His character may perhaps be thought very inconſiſtent, improbable, and unnatural; however I intend to draw it with the utmoſt regard to truth. This I am the better qualified to do, becauſe he is a ſort of *dependent* upon our family, and *almoſt* of the ſame *age*; though I cannot directly ſay, I have ever *ſeen* him. He is a native of this country, and hath lived long among us: but what appears wonderful, and hardly credible, was never ſeen *before* by any mortal.

It is true indeed, he always chuſes the *loweſt* place in company, and contrives it ſo, to keep *out of ſight*. It is reported however, that in his younger days he was frequently *expoſed to view*, but always againſt his will, and was ſure to *ſmart* for it.

As to his family he came into the world a younger brother, being of *ſix* children the *fourth* in order of (1) birth; of which the eldeſt is now *head* of the houſe; the ſecond and third carry *arms*; but the two youngeſt are only *footmen*: ſome indeed add, that he hath likewiſe a twin-brother, who lives *over-againſt* him, and keeps a (2) *victualling-houſe*; he hath the reputation to be a *cloſe, griping, ſqueezing* fellow; and that when his bags are *full*, he is often *needy*; yet when the fit takes him, as faſt as he gets, he *lets it fly*.

When in *office* no one *diſchargeth* himelf, or *doth his buſineſs* better. He hath *ſometimes ſtrained* hard for an honeſt livelihood; and never got a *bit*, till every body elſe had *done*.

One practice appears very blameable in him; that

every morning he privately frequents *unclean houſes* where any modeſt perſon would bluſh to be ſeen. And although this be generally known, yet the world, as cenſorious as it is, hath been ſo kind to overlook this infirmity in him. To deal impartially; it muſt be granted, that he is too great a lover of himſelf, and very often conſults his own *eaſe* at the expence of his beſt friends: but this is one of his *blind ſides*; and the beſt of men I fear are not without *them*.

He hath been conſtituted by the *higher* powers in the ſtation of *receiver general*, in which employployment ſome have cenſured him for playing *faſt* and *looſe*. He is likewiſe *overſeer* of the *golden mines*, which he daily inſpecteth, when his health will permit him.

He was long bred under a (3) *maſter of arts*, who inſtilled good *principles* in him, but theſe were ſoon *corrupted*. I know not whether this deſerves mention; that he is ſo very capricious, as to take it for an equal affront to talk either of *kiſſing* or *kicking* him, which hath occaſioned a thouſand quarrels: However no body was ſo great a ſufferer for faults, which he neither was, nor poſſibly could be guilty of.

In his *religion* he hath thus much of the quaker, that he ſtands *always covered*, even in the preſence of the King; in moſt other points a perfect (4) *idolater*, although he endeavours to *conceal* it; for he is known to offer daily ſacrifices to certain *ſubterraneous nymphs*, whom he worſhips in an *humble poſture, prone on his face*, and *ſtript ſtark-naked*; and ſo leaves his *offerings behind him*, which the (5) *prieſts* of thoſe goddeſſes are careful enough to remove upon certain ſeaſons with the utmoſt privacy at *midnight*, and from thence maintain themſelves and families. In all *urgent neceſſities* and *preſſures*, he applies himſelf to theſe deities, and ſometimes even in the *ſtreets* and *high ways*, from an opinion that thoſe

'hoſe powers have an influence in all places, altho' 'heir peculiar reſidenc be in caverns under ground. Upon theſe *occaſions* the faireſt ladies will not refuſe to *lend* their *hands* to aſſiſt him: for although they are aſhamed to have him *ſeen* in their company, or even ſo much as to hear him *named*; yet it is well known, that he is one of their *conſtant followers*.

In *politics*, he always ſubmits to what is *uppermoſt*; but he peruſes pamphlets *on both ſides* with great impartiality, though ſeldom till *every body elſe hath done with it*.

His *learning* is of a mixed kind, and he may properly be called a *belluo librorum*, or another *Jacobus de Voragine*; though his ſtudies are chiefly confined to *ſcholmen*, *commentators*, and *German divines*, together with *modern poets and critics*: and he is an *atomic* philoſopher, ſtrongly maintaining a *void* in *nature*, which he ſeems to have fairly proved by many experiments.

I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe ſome particular qualities, which, in ſeveral inſtances ſeem to diſtinguiſh this perſon from the common race of other mortals.

His *grandfather* was a member of the *rump* p rliament, as the *grandſon* is of the *preſent*, where he often *riſes*, ſometimes *grumbles*, but never *ſpeaks*. However he lets nothing paſs *willingly*, but what is *well digeſted*. His courage is indiſputable, for he will take the boldeſt man alive *by the noſe*.

He is generally the *firſt a-bed* in the family, and the *laſt up*; which is to be lamented; becauſe when he happens to *riſe before* the reſt, it hath been thought to forebode *good fortune to his ſuperiors*.

As wiſdom is acquired by age, ſo by every new (6)*wrinkle in his face*, he is reported to gain ſome *new knowledge*.

In him we may obſerve the true effects and conſequences of *tyranny* in a ſtate; for, as he is a great *oppreſſor* of all *below* him, ſo there is no body more

oppreſſed by thoſe *above* him: yet in his time he hath been ſo highly in favour, that many illuſtrious perſons have been entirely indebted to him for their preferments.

He hath diſcovered, from his own experience, the true point, wherein all human actions, projects, and deſigns do chiefly terminate; and how mean and ſordid they are at the bottom.

It behoves the public to keep him quiet; for his frequent murmurs are a certain ſign of inteſtine tumults.

No philoſopher ever lamented more the luxury, for which theſe nations are ſo juſtly taxed: it hath been known to coſt him (7) tears of blood: for, in his own nature, he is far from being profuſe; tho' indeed he never ſtays a night at a gentleman's houſe without leaving ſomething behind him.

He receives with great ſubmiſſion whatever his patrons think fit to give him; and when they lay heavy burdens upon him, which is frequently enough, he gets rid of them as ſoon as he can; but not without ſome labour and much grumbling.

He is a perpetual hanger-on; yet no body knows how to be without him. He patiently ſuffers himſelf to be kept under, but loves to be well uſed, and in that caſe will ſacrifice his vitals to give you eaſe: and he hath hardly one acquaintance, for whom he hath not been bound; yet, as far as we can find, was never known to loſe any thing by it.

He is obſerved to be very (8) unquiet in the company of a Frenchman in new cloaths, or a young coquette.

He is, in ſhort, the ſubject of much mirth and raillery, which he ſeems to take well enough; tho' it hath not been obſerved, that ever any good thing came from himſelf.

There is ſo general an opinion of his juſtice, that ſometimes very hard caſes are left to his deciſion; and while he ſits upon them, he carries himſelf exactly

exactly even between both sides, except where some knotty point arises; and then he is observed to lean a little to the right or left as the matter inclines him; but his reasons for it are so manifest and convincing, that every man approves them.

POSTSCRIPT.

Gentle Reader,

THOUGH I am not insensible how many thousand persons have been, and still are, with great dexterity handling this subject, and no less aware of what infinite reams of paper have been laid out upon it: however, in my opinion, no man living has touched it with greater nicety and more delicate turns, than our author. But because there is some intended obscurity in this relation; and curiosity, inquisitive of secrets, may possibly not enter into the bottom and depth of the subject, it was thought not improper to take off the veil, and gain the reader's favour by inlarging his insight. *Ars enim non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem.* It is well known, that it has been the policy of all times to deliver down important subjects by emblem and riddle, and not to suffer the knowledge of truth to be derived to us in plain and simple terms, which are generally as soon forgotten as conceived. For this reason the Heathen religion is mostly couched under mythology. For the like reason (this being a *fundamental* in its kind,) the author has thought fit to wrap up his treasure in clean linen, which it is our business to lay open, and set in a due light; for I have observed, upon any accidental discovery, the least glimpse has given a great diversion to the eager spectator, as many ladies could testify, were it proper, or the case would admit.

The politest companies have vouchsafed to smile at the bare name, and some people of fashion have been so little scrupulous of bringing it in play, that it was

was the usual saying of a knight and a man of good breeding, *That whenever he arose, his a-se rose with him.*

NOTES.

(1) He alludes to the manner of our birth, the head and arms appearing before the posteriors and the two feet, which he calls the footmen.

(2) *Victualling-house.*] The belly, which receives and digests our nourishment.

(3) *Master of arts.*] Persius: *magister artis, ingeniique largitor venter.*

(4) *Idolater.*] Alludes to the sacrifices offered by the Romans to the goddess Cloacina.

(5) *Priests.*] Gold finders, who perform their office in the night-time: but our author further seems to have an eye to the custom of the Heathen priests stealing the offerings in the night; of which see more in the story of Bell and the Dragon.

(6) *Wrinkle.*] This refers to a proverb—"You have one wrinkle in your a-se more than you had before."

(7) *Tears of blood.*] Hæmorrhoids, according to the physicians, are a frequent consequent of intemperance.

(8) *Unquiet.*) Their tails being generally observed to be most restless.

The WONDER of ALL the WONDERS, that ever the WORLD wondered at.

For all perſons of quality and others.

NEWLY arrived at this city of Dublin the famous artiſt John Emanuel Schoitz, who, to the great ſurprize and ſatisfaction of all ſpectators, is ready to do the following wonderful performances; the like before never ſeen in this kingdom.

He will heat a bar of iron red-hot, and thruſt it into a barrel of gun-powder before all the company, and yet it ſhall not take fire.

He lets any gentleman charge a blunderbuſs with the ſame gun-powder, and twelve leaden bullets; which blunderbuſs the ſaid artiſt diſcharges full in the face of the ſaid company, without the leaſt hurt, the bullets ſticking in the wall behind them.

He takes any gentleman's own ſword, and runs it through the ſaid gentleman's body, ſo that the point appears bloody at the back to all the ſpectators; then he takes out the ſword, wipes it clean, and returns it to the owner, who receives no manner of hurt.

He takes a pot of ſcalding oil, and throws it by great ladles-full directly at the ladies, without ſpoiling their cloaths or burning their ſkins.

He takes any perſon of quality's child, from two years old to ſix, and lets the child's own father or mother take a pike in their hands; then the artiſt takes the child in his arms, and toſſes it upon the point of the pike, where it ſticks, to the great ſatisfaction of all ſpectators; and is then taken off without ſo much as a hole in his coat.

He mounts upon a ſcaffold juſt over the ſpectators,

tors, and from thence throws down a great quantity of large tiles and ſtones, which fall like ſo many pillows, without ſo much as diſcompoſing either perukes or head-dreſſes.

He takes any perſon of quality up to the ſaid ſcaffold; which perſon pulls off his ſhoes, and leaps nine feet directly down on a board prepared on purpoſe, full of ſharp ſpikes ſix inches long, without hurting his feet or damaging his ſtockings.

He places the ſaid board on a chair, upon which a lady ſits down with another lady in her lap, while the ſpikes inſtead of entering into the under-lady's fleſh, will feel like a velvet-cuſhion.

He takes any perſon of quality's footman, ties a rop about his bare neck, and draws him up by pullies to the ceiling, and there keeps him hanging as long as his maſter or the company pleaſes, the ſaid footman, to the wonder and delight of all beholders, having a pot of ale in one hand and a pipe in the other; and when he is let down, there will not appear the leaſt mark of the cord about his neck.

He bids a lady's maid put her finger into a cup of clear liquor like water, upon which her face and both her hands are immediately withered like an old woman of fourſcore; her belly ſwells as if ſhe were within a week of her time, and her legs are as thick as mill-poſts; but, upon putting her finger into another cup, ſhe becomes as young and handſome, as ſhe was before.

He gives any gentleman leave to drive forty twelve-penny nails up to the head in a porter's backſide, and then places the ſaid porter on a loadſtone chair, which draws out every nail, and the porter feels no pain.

He likewiſe draws the teeth of half a dozen gentlemen, mixes and jumbles them in a hat, gives any perſon leave to blindfold him, and returns each their own, and fixes them as well as ever.

With his fore-finger and thumb he thruſts ſeveral

ral gentlemens and ladies eyes out of their heads, without the leaſt pain, at which time they ſee an unſpeakable number of beautiful colours; and, after they are entertained to the full, he places them again in their proper ſockets, without any damage to the ſight.

He lets any gentleman drink a quart of hot melted lead, and by a draught of prepared liquor, of which he takes part to himſelf, he makes the ſaid lead paſs through the ſaid gentleman before all the ſpectators, without any damage; after which it is produced in a cake to the company.

With many other wonderful performances of art, too tedious here to mention.

The ſaid artiſt has performed before moſt kings and princes in Europe with great applauſe

He performs every day (except Sundays,) from ten of the clock to one in the forenoon; and from four till ſeven in the evening, at the new inn in Smithfield.

The firſt ſeat a Britiſh crown, the ſecond a Britiſh half-crown, and the loweſt a Britiſh ſhilling.

N. B. The beſt hands in town are to play at the ſaid ſhow.

A Pro-

A PROPOSAL for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the ENGLISH TONGUE *.

In a LETTER to the Most Honourable ROBERT Earl of OXFORD and MORTIMER, Lord High Treasurer of GREAT BRITAIN.

To the Most Honourable ROBERT Earl of OXFORD, *&c.*

My LORD,

WHAT I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship some time ago in conversation, was not a new thought just then started by accident

* It is well known, that if the Queen had lived a year or two longer, this proposal would, in all probability have taken effect. For the Lord Treasurer had already nominated several persons, without distinction of quality or party, who were to compose a society for the purposes mentioned by the author; and resolved to use his credit with her Majesty, that a fund should be applied to support the expence of a large room, where the society should meet, and for other incidents. But this scheme fell to the ground, partly by the dissensions among the great men at court, but chiefly by the lamented death of that glorious princess. *Dub. edit.*

This piece might have been a very useful performance, if it had been longer, and less eclipsed by compliments to the noble person to whom it is addressed. It seems to have been intended as a preface to some more enlarged design: at the head of which such an introduction must have appeared with great propriety. A work of this kind is much wanted, as our language, instead of being improved, is every day growing worse and more debased. We bewilder ourselves in various orthography; we speak and we write at random; and if a man's common conversation were to be committed to paper, he would be startled *for to* find himself guilty in a *few* sentences, of so many solecisms and such false English. I believe we are the only people in the Christian world, who repeat the Lord's prayer in an ungrammatical manner; and I remember to have heard, that when a motion was made in the convocation to alter the word *which* for the word *who*, the proposition was rejected by the majority. This instance may shew you of what sort of men, the most learned, and

accident or occasion, but the result of long reflexion; and I have been confirmed in my sentiments

even the most reverend assemblies are sometimes composed. But let us consider the conduct of a neighbouring nation. How industrious have the French been to improve their language? and to what a state of perfection have they brought it? Rome, by her conquests, made her dialect universal: France, by her policy, has done the same. By policy, I mean the encouragement of arts and sciences; which will often render a nation more powerful than arms. Nothing has contributed so much to the purity and excellence of the French tongue, as the noble academies established for that purpose: and, until some public work of the same kind is undertaken in England; we cannot flatter ourselves with any hopes of amending the errors, or ascertaining the limits of our style. I shall not presume even to whisper to you, that I think a design of this sort is sufficiently momentous to attract the consideration of our legislative powers. Their thoughts are otherwise employed, and their faculties otherwise applied. But I will venture to say, that if to our hospitals for lunatics, an hospital was added for the reception and support of men of sense and learning, it would be of the highest honour to the present age, and of no less advantage to posterity. I call it an hospital, because I suppose it to be erected for the benefit of such persons, whose infirm fortunes, or diseased revenues, may have rendered the strength and abilities of their minds weak and useless to the public; for I entirely agree with Aristotle, where he says, in the words of "his scholiast, "Eum praeclara et magna vix posse exequi et praestare, cui facultates desunt: quonium per amicos et civilem potentiam, veluti per instrumenta, necesse est pleraque effici." The reflections that arise from this theme, I find, are driving me beyond due bounds: therefore I shall only add, that I heartily wish you may think an attention to your native language as useful and improving a study as can be pursued, in whatever station of life Providence may allot you. *Orrery.*

In this epistle Dr. Swift complains to the Earl of Oxford as first minister, in the name of all the learned and polite persons of the nation, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means equal to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it have chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities; and that in many instances it offends against every part of grammar. He proves with irresistible force of reason, that our language ought to be refined to a certain standard, and then fixed for ever: he remarks the several inconveniences which arise perpetually from our stupid inattention to these matters. He doth not however prescribe any methods for ascertaining the language, but throws out some general observations, leaving the rest to the inspection of that society, which he hoped would have been speedily instituted by the Lord Treasurer. But this scheme fell to the ground, partly by the dissensions among the great men at court, and chiefly by the lamented death of Q. Anne, that ever glorious princess. *Swift.*

by the opinion of ſome very judicious perſons, with whom I conſulted. They all agree, that nothing would be of greater uſe towards the improvement of knowledge and politeneſs, than ſome effectual method for correcting, enlarging and aſcertaining our language; and they think it a work very poſſible to be compaſſed under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a miniſtry, and the care of proper perſons choſen for ſuch an undertaking. I was glad to find your lordſhip's anſwer in ſo different a ſtyle, from what hath been commonly made uſe of on the like occaſions for ſome years paſt. That all ſuch thoughts muſt be deferred to a time of peace: a topic which ſome have carried ſo far, that they would not have us by any means think of preſerving our civil or religious conſtitution, becauſe we are engaged in a war abroad. It will be among the diſtinguiſhing marks of your miniſtry, my Lord, that you have a genius above all ſuch regards, and that no reaſonable propoſal for the honour, the advantage, or the ornament of your country, however foreign to your more immediate office, was ever neglected by you. I confeſs, the merit of this candour and condeſcenſion is very much leſſened, becauſe your lordſhip hardly leaves us room to offer our good wiſhes; removing all our difficulties, and ſupplying our wants, faſter than the moſt viſionary projector can adjuſt his ſchemes. And therefore, my lord, the deſign of this paper is not ſo much to offer you ways and means, as to complain of a grievance, the redreſſing of which is to be your own work, as much as that of paying the nation's debt, or opening a trade into the South-ſea; and though not of ſuch immediate benefit as either of theſe, or any other of your glorious actions, yet perhaps in future ages not leſs to your honour.

My lord, I do here, in the name of all the learned and polite perſons of the nation, complain to your

your lordſhip as firſt miniſter, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to poliſh and refine it have chiefly multiplied abuſes and abſurdities; and, that in many inſtances it offends againſt every part of grammar. But leſt your lordſhip ſhould think my cenſure too ſevere, I ſhall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your lordſhip will agree with me, in the reaſon why our language is leſs refined than thoſe of Italy, Spain, or France. It is plain, that the Latin tongue in its purity was never in this iſland, towards the conqueſt of which few or no attempts were made till the time of Claudius; neither was that language ever ſo vulgar in Britain, as it is known to have been in Gaul and Spain. Further, we find that the Roman legions here were at length all recalled to help their country againſt the Goths, and other barbarous invaders. Mean time, the Britons left to ſhift for themſelves, and daily harraſſed by cruel inroads from the Picts, were forced to call in the Saxons for their defence; who conſequently reduced the greateſt part of the iſland to their own power, drove the Britons into the moſt remote and mountainous parts, and the reſt of the country in cuſtoms, religion, and language, became wholly Saxon. This I take to be the reaſon, why there are more Latin words remaining in the Britiſh tongue than in the old Saxon, which, excepting ſome few variations in the orthography, is the ſame in moſt original words with our preſent Engliſh, as well as with the German and other Northern dialects.

Edward the confeſſor, having lived long in France, appears to be the firſt who introduced any mixture of the French tongue with the Saxon; the court affecting what the prince was fond of, and others taking it up for a faſhion, as it is now with

us. William the conqueror proceeded much farther; bringing over with him vaſt numbers of that nation, ſcattering them in every monaſtery, giving them great quantities of land, directing all pleadings to be in that language, and endeavouring to make it univerſal in the kingdom. This at leaſt is the opinion generally received: but your lordſhip hath fully convinced me, that the French tongue made yet a greater progreſs here under Harry the ſecond, who had large territories on that continent, both from his father and his wife, made frequent journeys and expeditions thither, and was always attended with a number of his countrymen, retainers at his court. For ſome centuries after, there was a conſtant intercourſe between France and England, by the dominions we poſſeſſed there, and the conqueſts we made; ſo that our language between two and three hundred years ago, ſeems to have had a greater mixture with French than at preſent; many words having been afterwards rejected, and ſome ſince the time of Spencer; although we have ſtill retained not a few, which have been long antiquated in France. I could produce ſeveral inſtances of both kinds, if it were of any uſe or entertainment.

To examine into the ſeveral circumſtances by which the language of a country may be altered, would force me to enter into a wide field. I ſhall only obſerve, that the Latin, the French, and the Engliſh, ſeem to have undergone the ſame fortune. The firſt, from the days of Romulus to thoſe of Julius Cæſar, ſuffered perpetual changes: and by what we meet in thoſe authors who occaſionally ſpeak on that ſubject, as well as from certain fragments of old laws, it is manifeſt that the Latin, three hundred years before Tully, was as unintelligible in his time, as the Engliſh and French of the ſame period are now; and theſe two have changed as much ſince William the conqueror (which

(which is but little leſs than ſeven hundred years,) as the Latin appears to have done in the like term. Whether our language or the French will decline as faſt as the Roman did, is a queſtion, that would perhaps admit more debate than it is worth. There were many reaſons for the corruptions of the laſt: as, the change of their government to a tyranny, which ruined the ſtudy of eloquence, there being no further uſe or encouragement for popular orators: their giving not only the freedom of the city, but capacity for employments, to ſeveral towns in Gaul, Spain, and Germany, and other diſtant parts, as far as Aſia; which brought a great number of foreign pretenders into Rome: the ſlaviſh diſpoſition of the ſenate and people, by which the wit and eloquence of the age were wholly turned into panegyric, the moſt barren of all ſubjects: the great corruption of manners, and introduction of foreign luxury, with foreign terms to expreſs it, with ſeveral others that might be aſſigned; not to mention thoſe invaſions from the Goths and Vandals, which are too obvious to inſiſt on.

The Roman language arrived at great perfection, before it began to decay: and the French, for theſe laſt fifty years, hath been poliſhing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural inconſtancy of that people, and the affectation of ſome late authors to introduce and multiply cant words, which is the moſt ruinous corruption in any language. La Bruyere, a late celebrated writer among them, makes uſe of many new terms, which are not to be found in any of the common dictionaries before his time. But the Engliſh tongue is not arrived to ſuch a degree of perfection, as to make us apprehend any thoughts of its decay; and if it were once refined to a certain ſtandard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at leaſt till we were invaded and made a conqueſt by ſome other ſtate; and even then our

beſt writings might probably be preſerved with care, and grow into eſteem, and the authors have a chance for immortality.

But without ſuch great revolutions as theſe (to which we are, I think, leſs ſubject than kingdoms upon the continent,) I ſee no abſolute neceſſity why any language ſhould be perpetually changing; for we find many examples to the contrary. From Homer to Plutarch are above a thouſand years; ſo long at leaſt the purity of the Greek tongue may be lowed to laſt, and we know not how far before. The Grecians ſpread their colonies round all the coaſts of Aſia Minor, even to the northern parts lying towards the Euxine, in every iſland of the Egæan ſea, and ſeveral others in the Mediterranean; where the language was preſerved entire for many ages, after they themſelves became colonies to Rome, and till they were over-run by the barbarous nations upon the fall of that empire. The Chineſe have books in their language above two thouſand years old, neither have the frequent conqueſts of the Tartars been able to alter it. The German, Spaniſh, and Italian, have admitted few or no changes for ſome ages paſt. The other languages of Europe I know nothing of; neither is there any occaſion to conſider them.

Having taken this compaſs, I return to thoſe conſiderations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your Lordſhip. The period, wherein the Engliſh tongue received moſt improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of Queen Elizebeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in 42. It is true, there was a very ill taſte, both of ſtyle and wit, which prevailed under King James the Firſt; but that ſeems to have been corrected in the firſt years of his ſucceſſor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this preſent time, I am apt to doubt whether

whether the corruptions in our language have not at leaſt equalled the refinements of it; and theſe corruptions very few of the beſt authors in our age have wholly eſcaped. During the uſurpation, ſuch an infuſion of enthuſiaſtic jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not ſhaken off in many years after. To this ſucceeded that licentiouſneſs which entered with the Reſtoration, and, from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language; which laſt was not like to be much improved by thoſe, who at that time made up the court of King Charles the Second; either ſuch, who had followed him in his baniſhment, or who had been altogether converſant in the dialect of thoſe fanatic times; or young men, who had been educated in in the ſame country; ſo that the court, which uſed to be the ſtandard of propriety and correctneſs of ſpeech, was then, and, I think, hath ever ſince continued the worſt ſchool in England for that accompliſhment; and ſo will remain, till better care be taken in the education of our young nobility, that they may ſet out into the world with ſome foundation of literature, in order to qualify them for patterns of politeneſs. The conſequence of this defect upon our language may appear from the plays, and other compoſitions written for entertainment within fifty years paſt; filled with a ſucceſſion of affected phraſes, and new conceited words, either borrowed from the current ſtyle of the court, or from thoſe, who, under the character of men of wit and pleaſure, pretended to give the law. Many of theſe refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible, which is no wonder, when they were the product only of ignorance and caprice.

I have never known this great town without one or more dunces of figure, who had credit enough to give riſe to ſome new word, and propagate it in moſt converſations, though it had neither humour, nor

nor ſignificancy. If it ſtruck the preſent taſte, it was ſoon transferred into the plays and current ſcribbles of the week, and became an addition to to our language; while the men of wit and learning, inſtead of early obviating ſuch corruptions, were too often ſeduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another ſet of men, who have contributed very much to the ſpoiling of the Engliſh tongue; I mean the poets, from the time of the Reſtoration. Theſe gentlemen, although they could not be inſenſible how much our language was already overſtocked with monoſyllables, yet, to ſave time and pains, introduced that barbarous cuſtom of abbreviating words, to fit them to the meaſure of their verſes; and this they have frequently done ſo very injudiciouſly, as to form ſuch harſh unharmonious ſounds, that none but a northern ear could endure; they have joined the moſt obdurate conſonants without one intervening vowel, only to ſhorten a ſyllable; and their taſte in time became ſo depraved, that what was at firſt a poetical licence not to be juſtified, they made their choice, alledging, that the words pronounced at length ſounded faint and languid. This was a pretence to take up the ſame cuſtom in proſe! ſo that moſt of the books we ſee now a-days, are full of thoſe manglings and abbreviations. Inſtances of this abuſe are innumerable: what does your Lordſhip think of the words, drudg'd, diſturb'd, rebuk'd, fledg'd, and a thouſand others every where to be met with in proſe as well as verſe? Where, by leaving out a vowel to ſave a ſyllable, we form ſo jarring a ſound, and ſo difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain

Another cauſe, (and perhaps borrowed from the former,) which hath contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a fooliſh opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to ſpell exactly as

as we ſpeak; which, beſide the obvious inconvenience of utterly deſtroying our etymology, would be a thing we ſhould never ſee an end of. Not only the ſeveral towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the ſuburbs: and, in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themſelves, as fancy or faſhion ſhall direct: all which reduced to writing would entirely confound orthography. Yet many people are ſo fond of this conceit, that it is ſometimes a difficult matter to read modern books and pamphlets; where the words are ſo curtailed, and varied from their original ſpelling, that whoever hath been uſed to plain Engliſh, will hardly know them by ſight.

Several young men at the univerſities, terribly poſſeſſed with the fear of pedantry, run into a worſe extreme, and think all politeneſs to conſiſt in reading the daily traſh ſent down to them from hence: this they call *knowing the world*, and *reading men and manners*. Thus furniſhed they come up to town, reckon all their errors for accompliſhments, borrow the neweſt ſet of phraſes; and if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffeehouſe, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of ſtyle; and the orthography refined to the utmoſt. To this we owe thoſe monſtrous productions, which under the name of *trips*, *ſpies*, *amuſements*, and other conceited appellations, have over-run us for ſome years paſt. To this we owe that ſtrange race of wits, who tell us, they write to the humour of the age. And I wiſh I could ſay, theſe quaint fopperies were wholly abſent from graver ſubjects In ſhort, I would undertake to ſhew your Lordſhip ſeveral pieces, where the beauties of this kind are ſo predominant, that,

with

with all your ſkill in languages, you could never be able either to read or underſtand them.

But I am very much miſtaken, if many of theſe falſe refinements among us do not ariſe from a principle, which would quite deſtroy their credit, if it were well underſtood and conſidered. For I am afraid, my Lord, that, with all the real good qualities of our country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual diſpoſition to ſhorten our words, by retrenching the vowels, is nothing elſe but a tendency to lapſe into the barbarity of thoſe northern nations from whom we are deſcended, and whoſe languages labour all under the ſame defect. For it is worthy our obſervation, that the Spaniards, the French, and the Italians, although derived from the ſame northern anceſtors with ourſelves, are with the utmoſt difficulty taught to pronounce our words, which the Swedes and Danes, as well as the Germans and the Dutch, attain to with eaſe, becauſe our ſyllables reſemble theirs in the roughneſs and frequency of conſonants. Now, as we ſtruggle with an ill climate to improve the nobler kinds of fruits, are at the expence of walls to receive and reverberate the faint rays of the ſun, and fence againſt the northern blaſts, we ſometimes, by the help of a good ſoil, equal the productions of warmer countries, who have no need to be at ſo much coſt and care. It is the ſame thing with reſpect to the politer arts among us; and the ſame defect of heat, which gives a fierceneſs to our natures, may contribute to that roughneſs of our language, which bears ſome analogy to the harſh fruit of colder countries. For I do not reckon that we want a genius more than the reſt of our neighbours: but your Lordſhip will be of my opinion, that we ought to ſtruggle with theſe natural diſadvantages as much as we can, and be careful whom we employ, whenever we deſign to correct them, which is a work that has hitherto been aſſumed by the

the leaſt qualified hands. So that, if the choice had been left to me, I would rather have truſted the refinement of our language, as far as it relates to ſound, to the judgement of the women, than of illiterate court-fops, half-witted poets, and univerſity-boys. For it is plain, that women, in their manner of corrupting words, do naturally diſcard the conſonants, as we do the vowels. What I am going to tell your Lordſhip appears very trifling: that more than once, where ſome of both ſexes were in company, I have perſuaded two or three of each to take a pen, and write down a number of letters joined together, juſt as it came into their heads; and, upon reading this gibberiſh, we have found that which the men had wrote, by the frequent encountering of rough conſonants, to ſound like High-Dutch; and the other, by the women like Italian, abounding in vowels and liquid. Now though I would by no means give ladies the trouble of adviſing us in the reformation of our language, yet I cannot help thinking, that ſince they have been left out of all meetings, except parties at play, or where worſe deſigns are carried on, our converſation hath very much degenerated.

In order to reform our language, I conceive, my Lord, that a free judicious choice ſhould be made of ſuch perſons, as are generally allowed to be beſt qualified for ſuch a work, without any regard to quality, party, or profeſſion. Theſe, to a certain number at leaſt, ſhould aſſemble at ſome appointed time and place, and fix on rules by which they deſign to proceed. What methods they will take, is not for me to preſcribe. Your Lordſhip, and other perſons in great employment, might pleaſe to be of the number: and I am afraid, ſuch a ſociety would want your inſtruction and example as much as your protection; for I have, not without a little envy, obſerved of late the ſtyle of ſome great

great miniſters very much to exceed that of any other productions.

The perſons who are to undertake this work will have the example of the French before them to imitate, where theſe have proceeded right, and to avoid their miſtakes. Beſides the grammar-part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will obſerve many groſs improprieties, which, however authoriſed by practiſe, and grown familiar, ought to be diſcarded. They will find many words that deſerve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long ſince antiquated, which ought to be reſtored on account of their energy and ſound.

But what I have moſt at heart, is, that ſome method ſhould be thought on for aſcertaining and fixing our language for ever, after ſuch alterations are made in it as ſhall be thought requiſite. For I am of opinion, that it is better a language ſhould not be wholly perfect, than that it ſhould be perpetually changing; and we muſt give over at one time or other, or at length infallibly change for the worſe, as the Romans did, when they began to quit their ſimplicity of ſtyle for affected refinements, ſuch as we meet in Tacitus and other authors; which ended by degrees in many babarities, even before the Goths had invaded Italy.

The fame of our writers is uſually confined to theſe two iſlands, and it is hard it ſhould be limited in time as much as place, by the perpetual variations of our ſpeech. It is your Lordſhip's obſervation, that if it were not for the Bible and Common-Prayer Book in the vulgar tongue, we ſhould hardly be able to underſtand any thing that was written among us an hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for thoſe books, being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of ſtandard for language, eſpecially to the common people. And I doubt, whether the alterations, ſince introduced,

have added much to the beauty or ſtrength of the Engliſh tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that ſimplicity, which is one of the greateſt perfections in any language. You, my Lord, who are ſo converſant in the ſacred writings, and ſo great a judge of them in their originals, will agree, that no tranſlation our country ever yet produced, hath come up to that of the Old and New Teſtament: and by the many beautiful paſſages, which I have often had the honour to hear your Lordſhip cite from thence, I am perſuaded, that the tranſlators of the Bible were maſters of an Engliſh ſtyle, much fitter for that work than any we ſee in our preſent writings; which I take to be owing to the ſimplicity that runs through the whole. Then, as to the greateſt part of our liturgy, compiled long before the tranſlation of the Bible now in uſe, and little altered ſince; there ſeem to be in it as great ſtrains of true ſublime eloquence, as are any where to be found in our language; which every man of good taſte will obſerve in the communion-ſervice, that of burial, and other parts.

But when I ſay, that I would have our language, after it is duly corrected, always to laſt, I do not mean that it ſhould never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a ſociety ſhall give a ſanction to, be afterwards antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they ſhall have occaſion for; becauſe then the old books will yet be always valuable according to their intrinſic worth, and not thrown aſide on account of unintelligible words and phraſes, which appear harſh and uncouth, only becauſe they are out of faſhion. Had the Roman tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been abſolutely neceſſary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the

vaſt ſpreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvious circumſtances, to have made great additions to that language; yet the ancients would ſtill have been read and underſtood with pleaſure and eaſe. The Greek tongue received many enlargements between the time of Homer and that of Plutarch; yet the former author was probably as well underſtood in Trajan's time as the latter. What Horace ſays of *words going off and periſhing like leaves, and new ones coming in their place*, is a misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves; but I cannot ſee why this ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary, or, if it were, what would have become of his *monumentum aere perennius?*

Writing by memory only, as I do at preſent, I would gladly keep within my depth; and therefore ſhall not enter into further particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to ſhew the uſefulneſs of this deſign, and to make ſome general obſervations, leaving the reſt to that ſociety, which I hope will owe its inſtitution and patronage to your Lordſhip. Beſides, I would willingly avoid repetition, having about a year ago communicated to the public much of what I had to offer upon this ſubject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who for a long time did thrice a week divert or inſtruct the kingdom by his papers; and is ſuppoſed to purſue the ſame deſign at preſent under the title of *Spectator*. This author, who hath tried the force and compaſs of our language with ſo much ſucceſs, agrees entirely with me in moſt of my ſentiments relating to it; ſo do the greateſt part of the men of wit and learning, whom I have had the happineſs to converſe with; and therefore I imagine that ſuch a ſociety would be pretty unanimous in the main points.

Your Lordſhip muſt allow, that ſuch a work as this brought to perfection, would very much contribute to the glory of her majeſty's reign; which ought to be recorded in words more durable than braſs,

braſs, and ſuch as our poſterity may read a thouſand years hence with pleaſure as well as admiration. I always diſapproved that falſe compliment to princes, that the moſt laſting monument they can have, is the hearts of their ſubjects. It is indeed their greateſt preſent felicity to reign in their ſubject's hearts; but theſe are too periſhable to preſerve their memories, which can only be done by the pens of able and faithful hiſtorians. And I take it to be your Lordſhip's duty, as Prime Miniſter, to give order for inſpecting our language, and rendering it fit to record the hiſtory of ſo great and good a princeſs. Beſides, my Lord, as diſintereſted as you appear to the world, I am convinced, that no man is more in the power of a prevailing favourite paſſion than yourſelf; I mean the deſire of true and laſting honour, which you have borne along with you through every ſtage of your life. To this you have often ſacrificed your intereſt, your eaſe, and your health: For preſerving and increaſing this, you have expoſed your perſon to ſecret treachery and open violence. There is not perhaps an example in hiſtory of any miniſter, who in ſo ſhort a time hath performed ſo many great things, and overcome ſo many difficulties. Now, though I am fully convinced, that you fear God, honour your Queen, and love your country, as much as any of your fellow-ſubjects, yet I muſt believe, that the deſire of fame hath been no inconſiderable motive to quicken you in the purſuit of thoſe actions which will beſt deſerve it. But at the ſame time I muſt be ſo plain as to tell your Lordſhip, that if you will not take ſome care to ſettle our language, and put it into a ſtate of continuance, I cannot promiſe that your memory ſhall be preſerved above an hundred years, farther than by imperfect tradition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former centuries, there were more effectual care taken by

our anceſtors to preſerve the memory of times and perſons, than we find in this age of learning and politeneſs, as we are pleaſed to call it. The rude Latin of the Monks is ſtill very intelligible; whereas, had their records been delivered down only in the vulgar tongue, ſo barren and ſo barbarous, ſo ſubject to continual ſucceeding changes, they could not now be underſtood, unleſs by antiquaries, who make it their ſtudy to expound them. And we muſt at this day have been content with ſuch poor abſtracts of our Engliſh ſtory, as laborious men of low genius would think fit to give us; and even theſe in the next age would be likewiſe ſwallowed up in ſucceeding collections. If things go on at this rate, all I can promiſe your Lordſhip, is, that, about two hundred years hence, ſome painful compiler, who will be at the trouble of ſtudying our language, may inform the world, that in the reign of Queen Anne, Robert Earl of Oxford, a very wiſe and excellent man, was made High-Treaſurer, and ſaved his country, which in thoſe days was almoſt ruined by a Foreign War and a Domeſtic Faction. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new hiſtory; but the reſt of your character, which I or any other writer may now value ourſelves by drawing, and the particular account of the great things done under your miniſtry, for which you are already ſo celebrated in moſt parts of Europe, will probably be dropped, on account of the antiquated ſtyle and manner they are delivered in. How then ſhall any man, who hath a genius for hiſtory equal to the beſt of the ancients, be able to undertake ſuch a work with ſpirit, and chearfulneſs, when he conſiders that he will be read with pleaſure but a very few years, and in an age or two ſhall hardly be underſtood without an interpreter? This is like employing an excellent ſtatuary to work upon mouldering ſtone. Thoſe, who apply their ſtudies to preſerve the memory of others, will

will always have some concern for their own. And I believe it is for this reason, that so few writers among us of any distinction have turned their thoughts to such a discouraging employment: for the best English historian must lie under this mortification, that, when his style grows antiquated, he will be only considered as a tedious relator of facts; and perhaps consulted in his turn among other neglected authors to furnish materials for some future collector.

I doubt your lordship is but ill entertained with a few scattered thoughts upon a subject, that deserves to be treated with ability and care: however, I must beg leave to add a few words more, perhaps not altogether foreign to the same matter. I know not whether that which I am going to say may pass for caution, advice, or reproach, any of which will be justly thought very improper from one in my station to one in yours. However, I must venture to affirm, that if genius and learning be not encouraged under your lordship's administration, you are the most inexcusable person alive. All your other virtues, my Lord, will be defective without this; your affability, candor, and good nature; that perpetual agreeableness of conversation, so disengaged in the midst of such a weight of business and opposition; even your justice, prudence, and magnanimity, will shine less bright without it. Your lordship is universally allowed to possess a very large portion in most parts of literature; and to this you owe the cultivating those many virtues which otherwise would have been less adorned, or in lower perfection. Neither can you acquit yourself of these obligations, without letting the arts in their turn share your influence and protection: besides, who knows but some true genius may happen to arise under your ministry, *exortus ut aetherius sol.* Every age might perhaps produce one or two of these to adorn it, if they were not

ſunk under the cenſure and obloquy of plodding ſervile, imitating pedants; I do not mean by a true genius, any bold writer, who breaks through the rules of decency to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the ſingularity of his opinions: but one, who upon a deſerving ſubject is able to open new ſcenes, and diſcover a vein of true and noble thinking, which never entered into any imagination before; every ſtroke of whoſe pen is worth all the paper blotted by hundreds of others in the compaſs of their lives. I know, my Lord, your friends all offer in your defence, that, in your private capacity, you never refuſed your purſe and credit to the ſervice and ſupport of learned or ingenious men; and that ever ſince you have been in public employment, you have conſtantly beſtowed your favours on the moſt deſerving perſons. But I deſire your lordſhip not to be deceived: we never will admit of theſe excuſes, nor will allow your private liberality, as great as it is, to attone for your exceſſive public thrift. But here again I am afraid moſt good ſubjects will interpoſe in your defence, by alledging the deſperate condition you found the nation in, and the neceſſity there was for ſo able and faithful a ſteward to retrieve it, if poſſible, by the utmoſt frugality. We grant all this, my Lord; but then it ought likewiſe to be conſidered, that you have already ſaved ſeveral millions to the public, and that what we aſk is too inconſiderable to break into any rules of the ſtricteſt good huſbandry. The French King beſtows about half a dozen penſions to learned men in ſeveral parts of Europe, and perhaps a dozen in his own kingdom; which in the whole do probably not amount to half the income of many a private commoner in England; yet have more contributed to the glory of that prince, than any million he hath otherwiſe employed. For learning, like all true merit, is eaſily ſatisfied; whilſt the falſe and counterfeit is perpetually craving, and never thinks

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it hath enough. The ſmalleſt favour given by a great prince, as a mark of eſteem, to reward the endowments of the mind, never fails to be returned with praiſe and gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the world I have known ſome years ago ſeveral penſions given to particular perſons (how deſervedly I ſhall not enquire), any one of which, if divided into ſmaller parcels, and diſtributed by the crown, to thoſe who might upon occaſion diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome extraordinary production of wit or learning, would be amply ſufficient to anſwer the end. Or if any ſuch perſons were above money (as every great genius certainly is, with very moderate conveniencies of life), a medal, or ſome mark of diſtinction, would do full as well.

But I forget my province, and find myſelf turning projector before I am aware; although it be one of the laſt characters under which I ſhould deſire to appear before your Lordſhip, eſpecially when I have the ambition of aſpiring to that of being, with the greateſt reſpect and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt obedient, moſt obliged,

and moſt humble ſervant.

London, Feb. 22.
1711-12.

Some

Some FREE THOUGHTS upon the PRESENT STATE of AFFAIRS *.

Written in the year 1714.

WHATEVER may be thought or practiſed by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reaſonable part of mankind, that the moſt plain, ſhort, eaſy, and lawful way to any good end is not more eligible, than one direct-

* About a month before the demiſe of Queen Anne, the Dean having laboured to reconcile the miniſters to each other without ſucceſs, retired to the houſe of a friend in Berkſhire, and never ſaw them more. But, during this retreat, he wrote the following treatiſe, which he thought might be of ſome uſe even in that juncture, and ſent it up to London to be printed: but, upon ſome difference in opinion between the author and the late Lord Bolingbroke, the publication was delayed till the Queen's death: and then he recalled his copy. It was afterwards placed in the hands of the late Alderman Barber, from whom it was obtained to be printed. The ruin of the miniſtry by this animoſity among themſelves, was long foreſeen and foretold by Swift; and it appears by Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham, that in his heart he renounced his friendſhip for Oxford long before the concluſion of the peace, though it did not appear till afterwards. "The peace", ſays he, "which "had been judged to be the only ſolid foundation whereupon we "could erect a Tory ſyſtem, and yet when it was made we found "ourſelves at a ſtand; nay, the very work, which ought to have "been the baſis of our ſtrength, was in part demoliſhed before our "eyes, and we were ſtoned with the ruins of it." This event probably rendered the diſunion of the miniſtry viſible; ſome principally endeavouring to ſecure themſelves, ſome ſtill labouring to eſtabliſh at all events the party they had eſpouſed, which ſaw nothing but "increaſe of mortification and nearer approaches to ruin". And it is not to be wondered at, that when this treatiſe was written, the Dean's attempts to reconcile his friends were unſucceſsful; for Bolingbroke declares, that he abhorred Oxford to ſuch a degree, that he would rather have ſuffered baniſhment or death, than have taken meaſures in concert with him to have avoided either.

When you have read this pamphlet, *digito compeſce labellum*. Orrery.

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ly contrary in ſome or all of theſe qualities. I have been frequently aſſured by great miniſters, that politics were nothing but common ſenſe; which, as it was the only true thing they ſpoke, ſo it was the only thing they could have wiſhed I ſhould not believe. God hath given the bulk of mankind a capacity to underſtand reaſon when it is fairly offered; and by reaſon they would eaſily be governed, if it were left to their choice. Thoſe princes in all ages, who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their myſterious ſkill in government, found by the event, that they had ill conſulted their own quiet, or the eaſe and happineſs of their people: nor hath poſterity remembered them with honour; ſuch as Lyſander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, Pope Alexander the ſixth and his ſon Cæſar Borgia, Queen Catherine de Medicis, Philip the ſecond of Spain, with many others. Nor are examples leſs frequent of miniſters, famed for men of deep intrigue, whoſe politics have produced little more than murmurings, factions, and diſcontents, which uſually terminated in the diſgrace and ruin of the authors.

I can recollect but three occaſions in a ſtate, where the talents of ſuch men may be thought neceſſary; I mean in a ſtate where the prince is obeyed and loved by his ſubjects: firſt, in the negociation of a peace; ſecondly, in adjuſting the intereſts of our own country with thoſe of the nations round us, watching the ſeveral motions of our neighbours and allies, and preſerving a due balance among them: laſtly, in the management of parties and factions at home. In the firſt of theſe caſes I have often heard it obſerved, that plain good ſenſe and a firm adherence to the point, have proved more effectual than all thoſe arts, which I remember a great foreign miniſter uſed in contempt to call the ſpirit of negociating. In the ſecond caſe much wiſdom and a thorough knowledge

knowledge in affairs, both foreign and domeſtic, are certainly required: after which I know no talents neceſſary beſides method and ſkill in the common forms of buſineſs. In the laſt caſe, which is that of managing parties, there ſeems indeed to be more occaſion for employing this gift of the lower politics, whenever the tide runs high againſt the court and miniſtry, which ſeldom happens under any tolerable adminiſtration, while the true intereſt of the nation is purſued. But, here in England (for I do not pretend to eſtabliſh maxims of government in general) while the prince and miniſtry, the clergy, the majority of landed-men, and bulk of the people, appear to have the ſame views and the ſame principles, it is not obvious to me, how thoſe at the helm can have many opportunities of ſhewing their ſkill in myſtery and refinement, beſides what themſelves think fit to create.

I have been aſſured by men long practiſed in buſineſs, that the ſecrets of court are much fewer than we generally ſuppoſe; and I hold it for the greateſt ſecret of court, that they are ſo: becauſe the firſt ſprings of great events, like thoſe of great rivers, are often ſo mean and ſo little, that in decency they ought to be hid: and therefore miniſters are ſo wiſe to leave their proceedings to be accounted for by reaſoners at a diſtance, who often mould them into ſyſtems, that do not only go down very well in the coffee-houſe, but are ſupplies for pamphlets in the preſent age, and may probably furniſh materials for memoirs and hiſtories in the next.

It is true indeed, that even thoſe who are very near the court; and are ſuppoſed to have a large ſhare in the management of public matters, are apt to deduct wrong conſequences, by reaſoning upon the cauſes and motives of thoſe actions wherein themſelves are employed. A great miniſter puts you

you a caſe, and aſks your opinion, but conceals an eſſential circumſtance, upon which the whole weight of the matter turns; then he deſpiſeth your underſtanding for counſelling him no better, and concludes he ought to truſt entirely to his own wiſdom. Thus he grows to abound in ſecrets and reſerves, even towards thoſe, with whom he ought to act in the greateſt confidence and concert: and thus the world is brought to judge, that whatever be the iſſue and event, it was all foreſeen, contrived, and brought to paſs by ſome maſter ſtroke of his politics.

I could produce innumerable inſtances, from my own memory and obſervation, of events imputed to the profound ſkill and addreſs of a miniſter, which in reality were either the mere effect of negligence, weakneſs, humour, paſſion, or pride, or, at beſt, but the natural courſe of things left to themſelves.

During this very ſeſſion of parliament, a moſt ingenious gentleman, who hath much credit with thoſe in power, would needs have it, that in the late diſſenſions at court, which grew too high to be any longer a ſecret, the whole matter was carried with the utmoſt dexterity on one ſide, and with manifeſt ill conduct on the other. To prove this, he made uſe of the moſt plauſible topics, drawn from the nature and diſpoſition of the ſeveral perſons concerned, as well as of her majeſty; all which he knows as much of as any man: and gave me a detail of the whole, with ſuch an appearance of probability, as committed to writing would paſs for an admirable piece of ſecret hiſtory. Yet I am at the ſame time convinced by the ſtrongeſt reaſons, that the iſſue of thoſe diſſenſions, as to the part they had in the court and houſe of lords, was partly owing to very different cauſes, and partly to the ſituation of affairs, from whence in that conjuncture they could not eaſily terminate otherwiſe

wiſe than they did, whatever unhappy conſequences they may have for the future.

In like manner I have heard a phyſician pronounce with great gravity, that he had cured ſo many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the ſmall pox; whereas in truth nine parts in ten of thoſe who recovered, owed their lives to the ſtrength of nature and a good conſtitution, while ſuch a one happened to be their doctor.

But, while it is ſo difficult to learn the ſprings and motives of ſome facts, aed ſo eaſy to forget the circumſtances of others, it is no wonder they ſhould be ſo groſsly miſrepreſented to the public, by curious inquiſitive heads, who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and in reaſoning upon affairs of ſtate, are ſure to be miſtaken, by ſearching too deep. And as I have known this to be the frequent error of many others, ſo I am ſure it hath been perpetually mine, whenever I have attempted to diſcover the cauſe of political events by refinement and conjecture; which I muſt acknowledge hath very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii* whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any adminiſtration, it is juſt ſo much the better.

What I have hitherto ſaid, hath by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requiſite in thoſe, who are truſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs; on the contrary, I know no ſtation of life, where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are ſo highly neceſſary, and where the want of any is ſo quickly or univerſally felt. A great miniſter hath no virtue for which the public may not be the better, nor any defect by which the public is not certainly a ſufferer. I have known more than once or twice, within four years paſt, an omiſſion, in appearance very ſmall, prove almoſt fatal to a whole ſcheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always ſufficient for the per-

ſon at the helm, that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he hath great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much ſecrecy was a character of any advantage to a miniſter, becauſe it put all other men upon their guard to be as ſecret as he, and was conſequently the occaſion that perſons and things were always miſrepreſented to him: becauſe likewiſe, too great an affectation of ſecrecy is uſually thought to be attended with thoſe little intrigues and refinements, which among the vulgar denominate a man a great politician; but among others is apt, whether deſervedly or no, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent, which differs as much from the true knowledge of government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of multiplying ſecrets may not be carried on, ſo far as to ſtop that communication which is neceſſary, in ſome degree, among all who have any conſiderable part in the management of public affairs: becauſe I have obſerved the inconveniencies ariſing from a want of love between thoſe who were to give directions, to have been of as ill conſequence as any that could happen from the diſcovery of ſecrets. I ſuppoſe, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head; and it is ſufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut ſtones into certain ſhapes, and place them in certain poſitions: but the ſeveral maſter-builders muſt have ſome general knowledge of the deſign, without which they can give no orders at all. And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able miniſter, than that of rightly adapting the ſeveral faculties of men; nor is any thing more to be lamented than the impracticableneſs of doing this in any great degree under our preſent circumſtances, while ſo many ſhut themſelves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is inſlaved

to the impatience of others, who desire to sell their vote, or their interest, as dear as they can. But whether this hath not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it hath not been dangerous in the example, and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the inquiry of those who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider in some lights the state of affairs among us for four years past. The Queen finding herself, and the majority of her kingdom, grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politics, and destructive principles of her former ministers; calls to the service of the public another set of men, who, by confession of their enemies, had equal abilities at least with their predecessors; whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise,) to act upon those maxims, which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state; whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation; and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs,) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship: with all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferior clergy almost to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest distress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge; neither doth it appear to me at the minute I am now writing, that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security: which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies, as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes as their effects.

Nothing hath given me greater indignation than to behold a ministry, who came with the advantages I have represented, acting ever since upon the de-

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fenſive in the Houſe of Lords with a majority on their ſide, and, inſtead of calling others to account, as it was reaſonably expected, miſpending their time and loſing many opportunities of doing good, becauſe a ſtruggling faction kept them continually in play. This courage among the adverſaries of the court was inſpired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the miniſters, or (if that was the caſe,) the miniſter alone is to anſwer

For, firſt, that race of politicians, who in the cant phraſe are called the *whimſicals* *, was never ſo numerous, or at leaſt ſo active, as it hath been ſince the great change at court; many of thoſe who pretended wholly to be in with the principles, upon which her Majeſty and her new ſervants proceeded, either abſenting themſelves with the utmoſt indifference, in thoſe conjunctures whereon the whole cauſe depended, or ſiding directly with the enemy.

I very well remember, when this miniſtry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among ſuch as are called the higher Tories or Churchmen, that quicker progreſs was not made in removing thoſe of the diſcontented party out of employments. I remember likewiſe, the reaſonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inſide of the court: ſome ſuppoſed the Queen was at firſt prevailed on to make that great change, with no other view than that of acting for the future upon a moderating ſcheme, in order to reconcile both parties; and I believe there might poſſibly have been ſome grounds for this ſuppoſition. Others conceived the employments were left undiſpoſed of, in

* Whimſicals were Tories who had been eager for the concluſion of the peace, till the treaties were perfected, then they could come up to no direct approbation. In the clamour raiſed about the danger of the ſucceſſion, they joined the Whigs, and declared directly againſt their party, and affected in moſt other points a moſt glorious neutrality. See Bolingbroke's letter to Wyndham, p. 48, 49.

order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates than ever could be gratified. This hath since been looked on as a very high strain of politics, and to have succeeded accordingly; because it is the opinion of many, that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in order, if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined; and thought it neither wise nor safe wholly to extinguish all opposition from the other side; because in the nature of things it was absolutely necessary that there should be parties in an English parliament; and a faction, already odious to the people, might be suffered to continue with less danger, than any new one that could arise. To confirm this, it was said, that the majority in the House of Commons was too great on the side of the High-church, and began to form themselves into a body, (by the name of the October Club,) in order to put the ministry under subjection. Lastly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office, was urged as an irrefragable reason for making changes by slow degrees. To discard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commission, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reason but differing in some principles of government, might be of terrible consequence.

However, it is certain, that none of these excuses were able to pass among men, who argued only from the principles of general reason. For first, they looked upon all schemes of comprehension to be as visionary and impossible in the state, as in the church. Secondly, while the spirit raised by the trial of Dr. Sacheverel continued in motion, men were not so keen upon coming in themselves, as to see their enemies out, and deprived of all assistance to do mischief: and it is urged further, that this general ambition of hunting after places, grew chiefly from seeing them so long undisposed of, and

from

from too general an encouragement by promiſes, to all who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt. Thirdly, the fear of creating another party, in caſe the preſent faction were wholly ſubdued, was, in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the ſituation of our affairs, too great a ſacrifice of the nation's ſafety to the genius of politics; conſidering how much was to be done, and how little time might probably be allowed. Beſides, the diviſions of a Houſe of Commons into court and country parties, which was the evil they ſeemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good miniſtry, who had the true intereſt and conſtitution of their country at heart: as for the apprehenſion of too great a majority in the Houſe of Commons, it appeared to be ſo vain, that upon ſome points of importance the court was hardly able to procure one. And the October Club, which appeared ſo formidable at firſt to ſome politicians, proved in the ſequel to be the chief ſupport of thoſe who ſuſpected them. It was likewiſe very well known that the greateſt part of thoſe men, whom the former miniſtry left in poſſeſſion of employments, were loudly charged with inſufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government; ſo that it would have been a matter of ſome difficulty to make a worſe choice; beſides, that plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment upon the ſcore of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and conſtrued to take in all employments whatſoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would ſerve to qualify a gentleman uſher at court: ſo that this laſt excuſe for the very ſlow ſteps made in diſarming the adverſaries of the crown, was allowed indeed to have more plauſibility, but leſs truth than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counſels or actions of the preſent miniſtry: their ſafety and

intereſt are viſibly united with thoſe of the public; they are perſons of unqueſtionable abilities, altoge- altogether unſuſpected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be further recommended by the dread and hatred of the oppoſite faction. However, it is manifeſt, that the zeal of their friends hath been cooling towards them for above two years paſt; they have been frequently deſerted or diſtreſſed upon the moſt preſſing occaſions, and very near giving up in deſpair: their characters have been often treated with the utmoſt barbarity and injuſtice in both houſes, by ſcurrilous and enraged orators; while their neareſt friends, and even thoſe who muſt have a ſhare in their diſgrace, never of- fered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myſelf what occaſions the miniſtry may have given for this coldneſs, incon- ſtancy, and diſcontent among their friends, I at the ſame time recollect the various conjectures, rea- ſonings, and ſuſpicions, which have run ſo freely for three years paſt, concerning the deſigns of the court: I do not only mean ſuch conjectures, as are born in a coffee-houſe, or invented by the malice of a party, but alſo the concluſions (however miſta- ken,) of wiſe and good men, whoſe quality and ſta- tion fitted them to underſtand the reaſon of public proceedings, and in whoſe power it lay to recom- mend or diſgrace an adminiſtration to the people. I muſt therefore take the boldneſs to aſſert, that all theſe diſcontents, how ruinous ſoever they may prove in the conſequences, have moſt unneceſſarily ariſen from the want of a due communication and concert. Every man muſt have a light ſufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go; there is a degree of confidence due to all ſtations; and a petty conſtable will neither act chearfully or wiſely without that ſhare of it, which properly belongs to him: although the main ſpring in a watch be out of ſight, there is an intermediate communication between

between it and the ſmalleſt wheel, or elſe no uſeful motion could be performed. This reſerved myſterious way of acting, upon points where there appeared not the leaſt occaſion for it, and towards perſons, who at leaſt, in right of their poſts, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to ſome hidden deſign, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was moſt afraid of. Thoſe who profeſſed the height of what is called *the church principle*, ſuſpected, that a comprehenſion was intended, wherein the moderate men on both ſides might be equally employed. Others went farther, and dreaded ſuch a comprehenſion, as directly tending to bring the old exploded principles and perſons once more into play. Again, ſome affected to be uneaſy about the ſucceſſion, and ſeemed to think there was a view of introducing that perſon, whatever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance. Others, eſpecially of late, ſurmiſed on the contrary, that the demands of the houſe of Hanover were induſtriouſly fomented by ſome in power, without the privity of the —— or ——. Now, although theſe accuſations were too inconſiſtent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciouſly ſuffered to paſs, and thereby took off much of that popularity, which thoſe at the helm ſtood in need of, to ſupport them under the difficulties of a long perplexing negotiation, a daily addition of public debts, and an exhauſted treaſury.

But the effects of this myſtical manner of proceeding did not end here: for the late diſſenſions between the great men at court (which have been, for ſome time paſt, the public entertainment of every coffeehouſe,) are ſaid to have ariſen from the ſame fountain; while on one ſide very great reſerve, and certainly very great reſentment on the other *, if we may believe general report, (for I

* Lord Oxford's reſerve was the cauſe of Bolingbroke's reſentment.

pretend

pretend to know no farther,) have inflamed animosities to such a height, as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Supposing this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men, otherwise highly accomplished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honour, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country, and probably of a most gracious princess, who hath intrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarreling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gun-shot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation: of which, altho' it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much.

Since this unhappy incident, the desertion of friends, and loss of reputation, have been so great, that I do not see how the ministers could have continued many weeks in their stations, if their opposers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they should be ruined: and their preservation hitherto seems to resemble his, who had two poisons given him together of contrary operations.

It may seem very impertinent in one of my level to point out to those who sit at the helm, what course they ought to steer. I know enough of courts to be sensible, how mean an opinion great ministers have of most men's understanding; to a degree, that in any other science would be called the grossest pedantry. However, unless I offer my sentiments in this point, all I have hitherto said will be to no purpose.

The general wishes and desires of a people are perhaps more obvious to other men, than to ministers of state. There are two points of the highest importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. First, that the church of England should be preserved entire in all her rights, powers and privileges; all doctrines relating to government discouraged, which

which she condemns; all schisms, sects and heresies discountenanced and kept under due subjection, as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution; her open enemies (among whom I include at least dissenters of all denominations; not trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power; and her secret adversaries, under the name of Whigs, Low-church, Republicans, Moderation-men and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they should deserve by a sincere reformation.

Had this point been steadily pursued in all its parts, for three years past, and asserted as the avowed resolution of the court, there must probably have been an end of faction, which hath been able ever since with so much vigour to disturb and insult the administration. I know very well, that some refiners pretend to argue for the usefulness of parties in such a government as ours: I have said something of this already, and have heard a great many idle wise topics upon the subject But I shall not argue that matter at present; I suppose, if a man thinks it necessary to play with a serpent, he will chuse one of a kind that is least mischievous; otherwise, although it appears to be crushed, it may have life enough to sting him to death. So, I think it is not safe tampering with the present faction, at least at this juncture: first, because their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the constitution in church and state: secondly, because they are highly irritated with the loss of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute every thing that rage or malice can suggest: but principally because they have prevailed by misrepresentations and other artifices, to make the successor look upon them as the only persons he can trust: upon which account they cannot be too soon, or too much disabled: neither will England ever be safe from the

attempts

attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their ſtrength and intereſt be ſo far reduced, that, for the future it ſhall not be in the power of the crown although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to chuſe an ill majority in the Houſe of Commons.

One ſtep very neceſſary to this great work, will be to regulate the army, and chiefly thoſe troops, which in their turns have the care of her Majeſty's perſon; who are moſt of them fitter to guard a prince under an high court of juſtice, than ſeated on the throne. The peculiar hand of providence hath hatherto preſerved her Majeſty, encompaſſed, whether ſleeping or travelling, by her enemies: but ſince religion teacheth us, that providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill venturing to truſt that precious life any longer to thoſe, who, by their public behaviour and diſcourſe, diſcover their impatience to ſee it at an end; that they may have liberty to be the inſtruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own. It ſhould be well remembered, what a ſatisfaction theſe gentlemen (after the example of their betters) were ſo ſanguine to expreſs upon the Queen's laſt illneſs at Windſor, and what threatenings they uſed of refuſing to obey their general, in caſe that illneſs had proved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to ſuſpect, that, in ſuch an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleaſed with the power of the ſword, and with great connivance leave it ſo long unſheathed, until they were got rid of their moſt formidable adverſaries. In the mean time it muſt be a very melancholy proſpect, that, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to viſit us with this calamity, thoſe who are paid to be defenders of the civil power, will ſtand ready for any acts of violence, that a junto, compoſed of the greateſt enemies to the conſtitution, ſhall think fit to enjoin them.

The

The other point of great importance is the security of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover: not from any partiality to that illuſtrious houſe, further than as it hath had the honour to mingle with the blood royal of England, and is the neareſt branch of our legal line reformed from popery. This point hath one advantage over the former, that both parties profeſs to deſire the ſame bleſſing for poſterity, but differ about the means of ſecuring it. From whence it hath come to paſs, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion, in appearance the deſire of the whole nation, hath proved the greateſt topic of ſlander, jealouſy, ſuſpicion and diſcontent.

I have been ſo curious as to aſk ſeveral acquaintances among the oppoſite party, whether they, or their leaders, did really ſuſpect there had been ever any deſign in the miniſtry to weaken the ſucceſſion in favour of the pretender, or of any other perſon whatſoever. Some of them freely anſwered in the negative: others were of the ſame opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and upon farther provocations: others again ſeemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plauſible grounds for their belief. I have likewiſe been aſſured by a perſon of ſome conſequence, that, during a very near and conſtant familiarity with the great men at court for four years paſt, he never could obſerve, even in thoſe hours of converſation where there is uſually leaſt reſtraint, that one word ever paſſed among them to ſhew a diſlike to the preſent ſettlement; although they would ſometimes lament, that the falſe repreſentation of their's and the kingdom's enemies had made ſome impreſſions in the mind of the ſucceſſor. As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can ſafely affirm, that, excepting thoſe who are nonjurors by profeſſion, I have not met with above two perſons who appeared to have any ſcruples concerning the

preſent

preſent limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of thoſe, who wiſh to ſee the ſon of the abdicated prince upon the throne, is altogether inconſiderable. And further, I believe it will be found, that there are none who ſo much dread any attempt he ſhall make for the recovery of his imagined rights, as the Roman Catholics of England; who love their freedom and properties too well to deſire his entrance by a French army, and a field of blood; who muſt continue upon the ſame foot if he changeth his religion, and muſt expect to be the firſt and greateſt ſufferers if he ſhould happen to fail.

As to the perſon of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of diſadvantages: the vulgar imagine him to have been a child impoſed upon the nation, by the fraudulent zeal of his parents and their bigotted counſellors; who took ſpecial care, againſt all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful ſuperſtition, ſucked in with his milk and confirmed in his manhood, too ſtrong to be now ſhaken by Mr. Leſley *; and a counterfeit converſation will be too groſs to paſs upon the kingdom, after what we have ſeen and ſuffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewiſe ſaid to be of weak intellectuals, and an unſound conſtitution: he was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France, even during the war; is now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a ſmall exhibition: he is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle: his father's friends are moſt of them dead, the reſt antiquated or poor. Six and

* Leſley was a nonjuring clergyman, who wrote a letter from Barleduc in Lorrain, the place of the pretender's reſidence, addreſſed to a member of parliament in London, in praiſe and on behalf of his prince. The letter was printed, and publicly handed about in London.

twenty years have almoſt paſt ſince the revolution, and the bulk of thoſe who are now moſt in action, either at court, in parliament, or public offices, were then boys at ſchool or the univerſities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logic of the higheſt tories is now, that this was the eſtabliſhment they found, as ſoon as they arrived to a capacity of judging; that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore have no crime to anſwer for, if it were any: that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in purſuance of laws made ever ſince their remembrance, by which all papiſts are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by: that they will no more diſpute King William III's. title, than King William I's.; ſince they muſt have recourſe to hiſtory for both: that they have been inſtructed in the doctrines of paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance and hereditary-right, and find them all neceſſary for preſerving the preſent eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, and for continuing the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, and muſt, in their own opinion renounce all thoſe doctrines, by ſetting up any other title to the crown. This, I ſay, ſeems to be the political creed of all the high-principled men I have for ſome time met with of forty years old and under; which although I do not pretend to juſtify in every part, yet I am ſure it ſets the proteſtant ſucceſſion upon a much firmer foundation, than all the indigeſted ſchemes of thoſe who profeſs to act upon what they call revolution-principles.

Neither ſhould it perhaps be ſoon forgotten, that, during the greateſt licentiouſneſs of the preſs, while the ſacred character of the Queen was every day inſulted in factious papers and ballads, not the leaſt reflecting inſinuation ever appeared againſt the Hanover family, whatever occaſion was offered to in-

temperate pens, by the raſhneſs or indiſcretion of one or two miniſters from thence.

From all theſe conſiderations, I muſt therefore lay it down as an inconteſtable truth, that the ſucceſſion to theſe kingdoms in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, is as firmly ſecured as the nature of the thing can poſſibly admit by the oaths of all thoſe who are intruſted with any office, by the very principles of thoſe who are termed the High Church, by the general inclinations of the people, by the inſignificancy of that perſon who claims it from inheritance and the little aſſiſtance he can expect, either from princes abroad, or adherents at home.

However, ſince the virulent oppoſers of the queen and her adminiſtration, have ſo far prevailed by their emiſſaries at the court of Hanover, and by their practices upon one or two ignorant, unmannerly Meſſengers from thence, as to make the Elector deſire ſome farther ſecurity, and ſend over a Memorial here to that end: The great queſtion is, how to give reaſonable ſatisfaction to His Highneſs, and (what is infinitely of greater conſequence) at the ſame time, conſult the honour and ſafety of the Queen, whoſe quiet Poſſeſſion is of much more conſequence to us of the preſent age, than his Reverſion. The ſubſtance of his memorial, if I retain it right, is to deſire that ſome one of his family might live in England, with ſuch a maintenance as is uſual to thoſe of the royal blood, and that certain titles ſhould be conferred upon the reſt, according to ancient cuſtom. The memorial doth not ſpecify which of the family ſhould be invited to reſide here; and if it had, I believe however her Majeſty would have looked upon it as a circumſtance left to her own choice.

But, as all this is moſt manifeſtly unneceſſary in itſelf, and only in compliance with the miſtaken doubts of a preſumptive heir; ſo the nation would (to ſpeak in the language of Mr. Steel) *expect*, that her

her Majesty should be made perfectly easy from that side for the future, no more to be alarmed with apprehensions of visits or demands of writs, where * she hath not thought fit to give any invitation, The nation would likewise expect, that there should be an end of all private commerce between that court and the leaders of a party here; and, that his Electoral Highness should declare himself entirely satisfied with all her Majesty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad her choice of ministers at home, and particularly in her most gracious condescensions, to his request: that he would, upon all proper occasions, and in the most public manner, discover his utter dislike of factious persons and principles, but, especially of that party, which under the pretence or shelter of his protection, hath so long disquieted the kingdom: and lastly, that he would acknowledge the goodness of the Queen, and justice of the nation, in so fully securing the succession to his family.

It is indeed a problem which I could never comprehended, why the court of Hanover, who have all along thought themselves so perfectly secure in the affections, the principles, and the professions of the Low-Church party, should not have endeavoured, according to the usual politics of princes, to gain over those who were represented as their enemies; since these supposed enemies had so many advances, were in possession of all the powers, had framed the very settlement to which that illustrious family owes its claim; had all of them abjured the pretender; were now employed in the great offices of state, and composed a majority in both houses of parliament. Not to mention, that the Queen

* Baron Schutz, envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover, demanded a Writ for the Electoral Prince to sit in the house of Peers as Duke of Cambridge, and it was expected, that his Highness would have made a visit to the Court of London.

herſelf, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This, one would think, might be a ſtrength ſufficient not only to obſtruct but to beſtow a ſucceſſion: and ſince the preſumed heir could not but be perfectly ſecure of the other party, whoſe greateſt avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights; it might therefore ſurely have been worth his while, to have made at leaſt one ſtep towards cultivating a fair correſpondence with the power in poſſeſſion. Neither could thoſe, who are called his friends, have blamed him, or with the leaſt decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why may not the reaſons of this proceeding in the elector be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his Highneſs is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced, that no true member of the church of England can eaſily be ſhaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation: That theſe are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with the others, from a true notion he hath of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of intereſt or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his Highneſs cannot ſure but entertain a very high eſteem of ſuch miniſters, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a ſucceſſor's utmoſt diſpleaſure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is ſuppoſed alone to favour, and to be guided entirely in his judgement of Britiſh affairs and perſons by their opinions.

But to return from this digreſſion: the preſence of that infant prince * among us could not, I think,

* The infant prince was the ſon of the electoral prince of Hanover who might be choſen to reſide here in conſequence of the Memorial. See p. 351.

in

in any ſort, be inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the Queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or expoſed in his perſon by vicious companions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might repreſent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court by affecting German modes and refinements in dreſs or behaviour: nor would there be an occaſion of inſinuating to him, how much more his levee was frequented than the anti-chambers of St. James's. Add to all this, the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of the government, each ſo very different from thoſe he would leave behind. By which likewiſe he might be highly uſeful to his father, if that prince ſhould happen to ſurvive her Majeſty.

The late King William, who, after his marriage with the lady Mary of England, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a Queen's huſband, (the Duke of York having a young wife,) was no ſtranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princeſs; which I obſerve the rather, becauſe I could heartily wiſh the ſame diſpoſition were in another court, and becauſe it may be diſagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a ſudden, or ſpeak to his ſubjects by an interpreter.

An ill-natured or inquiſitive man may ſtill, perhaps, deſire to preſs the queſtion farther, by aſking, what is to be done, in caſe it ſhould ſo happen, that this malevolent working party at home hath credit enough with the court of Hanover, to continue the ſuſpicion, jealouſy, and uneaſineſs there againſt the Queen and her miniſtry; to make ſuch demands be ſtill inſiſted on, as are by no means

thought proper to be complied with; and in the mean time to ſtand at arms length with her Majeſty, and in cloſe conjunction with thoſe who oppoſe her.

I take the anſwer to be eaſy; in all conteſts, the ſafeſt way is to put thoſe we diſpute with, as much in the wrong as we can. When her Majeſty ſhall have offered ſuch or the like conceſſions as I have above mentioned, in order to remove thoſe ſcruples, artificially raiſed in the mind of the expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is ſuppoſed to have been miſled; ſhe hath done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her caſe; and will be juſtified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of thoſe who now ſide againſt the court, will probably be more temperate; and, if a due diſpatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of ſuch as wiſh well to the conſtitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or intereſt of a ſucceſſor to gratify ſo ſmall a faction, as will probably then remain, at the expence of a much more numerous and conſiderable part of his ſubjects. Neither do I ſee how the principles of ſuch a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, becauſe I think Luther and Calvin ſeem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers: and becauſe a German prince will probably be ſuſpicious of thoſe who think they can never depreſs the prerogative enough.

But ſuppoſing, once for all, as far as poſſible, that the Elector ſhould utterly refuſe to be upon any terms of confidence with the preſent miniſtry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the ſucceſſion; nor eaſy with the Queen herſelf, but upon ſuch conditions as will not be thought conſiſtent with her ſafety and honour; and continue to place all his hopes and truſt in the diſcontented party: I think it were humbly to be wiſhed,

wiſhed, that whenever the ſucceſſion ſhall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince ſhould be made by himſelf, and not by his deputies; becauſe I am of opinion, that the clauſe empowering the ſucceſſor to appoint a latent unlimited number, additional to the ſeven regents named in the act, went upon a ſuppoſition, that the ſecret committee would be of ſuch, whoſe enmity and contrary principles diſpoſed them to confound the reſt. King William, whoſe title was much more controverted than that of her Majeſty's ſucceſſor can ever probably be, did for ſeveral years leave the adminiſtration of the kingdom in the hands of Lords Juſtices, during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himſelf was frequently attempting an invaſion: from whence one might imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament upon the demiſe of the crown, would be able to keep the peace during an abſence of a few weeks without any colleagues. However, I am pretty confident that the only reaſon, why a power was given of chuſing dormant viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a neceſſity to invite over any of the family here, during her Majeſty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the Elector can uſe to inſiſt upon both.

To conclude, the only way of ſecuring the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and conſequently this very Proteſtant ſucceſſion itſelf, will be by leſſening the power of our domeſtic adverſaries as much as can poſſibly conſiſt with the lenity of our government; and if this be not ſpeedily done, it will be eaſy to point where the nation is to fix the blame; for we are well aſſured, that ſince the account her Majeſty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the inſolent behaviour of the whole faction during her late illneſs at Windſor, ſhe hath been as willing to ſee them deprived of all power to do miſchief, as any of her moſt zealous and loyal ſubjects can deſire.

Thoughts on Various Subjects.

We have just enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.

Reflect on things past, as wars, negotiations, factions, &c. we enter so little into those interests, that we wonder how men could possibly be so busy and concerned for things so transitory; look on the present times, we find the same humour, yet wonder not at all.

A wise man endeavours, by considering all circumstances, to make conjectures, and form conclusions; but the smallest accident interveening, (and in the course of affairs it is impossible to foresee all,) does often produce such turns and changes, that at last he is just so much in doubt of events as the most ignorant and unexperienced person.

Positiveness is a good quality for preachers and orators, because he that would obtrude his thoughts and reasons upon a multitude, will convince others the more, as he appears convinced himself.

How is it possible to expect that mankind will take advice, when they will not so much as take warning?

I forget whether advice be among the lost things which Aristotle says are to be found in the moon; that and time ought to have been there

No preacher is listened to but time, which gives us the same train and turn of thought that elder people have tried in vain to put into our heads before.

When we desire or sollicit any thing, our minds run wholly on the good side or circumstances of it; when

when it is obtained, our minds run wholly on the bad ones.

In a glaſs-houſe the workmen often fling in a ſmall quantity of freſh coals, which ſeems to diſturb the fire, but very much enlivens it. This ſeems to allude to a gentle ſtirring of the paſſions, that the mind may not languiſh.

Religion ſeems to have grown an infant with age, and requires miracles to nurſe it as it had in its infancy.

All fits of pleaſure are balanced by an equal degree of pain or languor; it is like ſpending this year part of the next year's revenue.

The latter part of a wiſe man's life is taken up in curing the follies, prejudices, and falſe opinions he had contracted in the former.

Would a writer know how to behave himſelf with relation to poſterity, let him conſider in old books what he finds that he is glad to know, and what omiſſions he moſt laments.

Whatever the poets pretend, it is plain they give immortality to none but themſelves: it is Homer and Virgil we reverence and admire, not Achilles or Æneas. With hiſtorians it is quite the contrary; our thoughts are taken up with the actions, and events we read, and we little regard the authors.

When a true genius appears in the word, you may know him by this ſign, that the dunces are all in confederacy againſt him.

Men who poſſeſs all the advantages of life, are in a ſtate where there are many accidents to diſorder and diſcompoſe, but few to pleaſe them.

It is unwiſe to puniſh cowards with ignominy; for if they had regarded that, they would not have been cowards: death is their proper puniſhment, becauſe they fear it moſt.

The greateſt inventions were produced in the times of ignorance; as the uſe of the compaſs, gunpowder,

powder, and printing; and by the dulleſt nation, as the Germans.

One argument to prove, that the common relations of ghoſts and ſpectres are generally falſe, may be drawn from the opinion held, that ſpirits are never ſeen by more than one perſon at a time; that is to ſay, it ſeldom happens to above one perſon in a company, to be poſſeſſed with any high degree of ſpleen or melancholy.

I am apt to think, that in the day of judgement there will be ſmall allowance given to the wiſe for their want of morals, and to the ignorant for their want of faith, becauſe both are without excuſe. This renders the advantages equal of ignorance and knowledge. But ſome ſcruples in the wiſe, and ſome vices in the ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the ſtrength of temptation, to each.

The value of ſeveral circumſtances in ſtory leſſens very much by diſtance of time, though ſome minute circumſtances are very valuable; and it requires great judgement in a writer to diſtinguiſh.

It is grown a word of courſe, for writers to ſay, This critical age, as divines ſay, This ſinful age.

It is pleaſant to obſerve how free the preſent age is in laying taxes on the next: *Future ages ſhall talk of this; this ſhall be famous to all poſterity:* whereas their time and thoughts will be taken up about preſent things, as ours are now.

The cameleon, who is ſaid to feed upon nothing but air, hath of all animals the nimbleſt tongue.

When a man is made a ſpiritual peer he loſes his ſirname; when a temporal, his chriſtian name.

It is in diſputes as in armies, where the weaker ſide ſets up falſe lights, and makes a great noiſe, to make the enemy believe them more numerous and ſtrong than they really are.

Some men, under the notions of weeding out prejudices, eradicate virtue, honeſty, and religion.

In all well-inſtituted commonwealths, care has been

been taken to limit mens poſſeſſions; which is done for many reaſons, and among the reſt, for one which perhaps is not often conſidered, that when bounds are ſet to mens deſires, after they have acquired as much as the laws will permit them, their private intereſt is at an end, and they have nothing to do but take care of the public.

There are but three ways for a man to revenge himſelf of the cenſure of the world; to deſpiſe it, to return the like, or to endeavour to live ſo as to avoid it: the firſt of theſe is uſually pretended, the laſt is almoſt impoſſible, the univerſal practice is for the ſecond.

Herodotus tells us, that in cold countries beaſts very ſeldom have horns, but in hot they have very large ones. This might bear a very pleaſant application.

I never heard a finer piece of ſatire againſt lawyers, than that of aſtrologers, when they pretend by rules of art to tell when a ſuit will end, and whether to the advantage of the plaintiff or defendant; thus making the matter depend entirely upon the influence of the ſtars, without the leaſt regard to the merits of the cauſe.

The expreſſion in Apocrypha, about Tobit and his dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed, yet Homer has the ſame words of Telemachus more than once; and Virgil ſays ſomething like it of Evander. And I take the book of Tobit to be partly poetical.

I have known ſome men poſſeſſed of good qualities, which were very ſerviceable to others, but uſeleſs to themſelves; like a ſun-dial on the front of a houſe, to inform the neighbours and paſſengers, but not the owner within.

If a man would regiſter all his opinions upon love, politics, religion, learning, &c. beginning from his youth, and ſo go on to old age, what a bundle

bundle of inconſiſtencies and contradictions would appear at laſt?

What they do in heaven we are ignorant of; what they do not we are told expreſly, that they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

When a man obſerves the choice of ladies now a-days in the diſpenſing of their favours, can he forbear paying ſome veneration to the memory of thoſe mares mentioned by Xenophon *, who, while their manes were on, that is, while they were in their beauty, would never admit the embraces of an aſs.

It is a miſerable thing to live in ſuſpence; it is the life of a ſpider.

Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit.
Ovid. Metam.

The Stoical ſcheme of ſupplying our wants by lopping off our deſires, is like cutting off our feet when we want ſhoes.

Phyſicians ought not to give their judgement of religion, for the ſame reaſon that butchers are not admitted to be jurors upon life and death.

The reaſon, why ſo few marriages are happy, is becauſe young ladies ſpend their time in making nets, not in making cages.

If a man will obſerve as he walks the ſtreets, I believe he will find the merrieſt countenances in mourning coaches.

Nothing more unqualifies a man to act with prudence, than a misfortune that is attended with ſhame and guilt.

The power of fortune is confeſſed only by the miſerable; for the happy impute all their ſucceſs to prudence or merit.

Ambition often puts men upon doing the meaneſt offices: ſo climbing is performed in the ſame poſture with creeping.

* De Re Equeſtri.

Ill company is like a dog, who dirts thoſe moſt whom he loves beſt.

Cenſure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.

Although men are accuſed for not knowing their own weakneſs, yet perhaps as few know their own ſtrength. It is in men as in ſoils, where ſometimes there is a vein of gold which the owner knows not of.

Satire is reckoned the eaſieſt of all wit; but I take it to be otherwiſe in very bad times: for it is as hard to ſatirize well a man of diſtinguiſhed vices, as to praiſe well a man of diſtinguiſhed virtues. It is eaſy enough to do either to people of moderate characters.

Invention is the talent of youth, and judgement of age; ſo that our judgement grows harder to pleaſe, when we have fewer things to offer it: this goes through the whole commerce of life. When we are old, our friends find it difficult to pleaſe us, and are leſs concerned whether we be pleaſed or no.

No wiſe man ever wiſhed to be younger.

An idle reaſon leſſens the weight of the good ones you gave before.

The motives of the beſt actions will not bear too ſtrict an inquiry. It is allowed, that the cauſe of moſt actions, good or bad, may be reſolved into the love of ourſelves; but the ſelf-love of ſome men inclines them to pleaſe others; and the ſelf-love of others is wholly employed in pleaſing themſelves. This makes the great diſtinction between virtue and vice. Religion is the beſt motive of all actions, yet religion is allowed to be the higheſt inſtance of ſelf-love.

When the world has once begun to uſe us ill, it afterwards continues the ſame treatment with leſs ſcruple or ceremony, as men do to a whore.

Old men view beſt at a diſtance with the eyes

of their understanding as well as with those of nature

Some people take more care to hide their wisdom than their folly.

Arbitrary power is the natural object of temptation to a prince, as wine or women to a young fellow, or a bribe to a judge, or avarice to old age, or vanity to a woman.

Anthony Henley's farmer dying of an asthma, said, Well, if I can get this breath once out, I'll take care it shall never get in again.

The humour of exploding many things under the name of trifles, fopperies, and only imaginary goods, is a very false proof either of wisdom or magnanimity, and a great check to virtuous actions. For instance, with regard to fame, there is in most people a reluctance and unwillingness to be forgotten. We observe even among the vulgar, how fond they are to have an inscription over their grave. It requires but little philosophy to discover and observe that there is no intrinsic value in all this; however, if it be founded in our nature, as an incitement to virtue, it ought not to be ridiculed.

Complaint is the largest tribute heaven receives, and the sincerest part of our devotion.

The common fluency of speech in many men, and most women, is owing to a scarcity of matter, and a scarcity of words; for whoever is a master of language, and hath a mind full of ideas, will be apt in speaking to hesitate upon the choice of both: whereas common speakers have only one set of ideas, and one set of words to clothe them in; and these are always ready at the mouth: so people come faster out of a church when it is almost empty, than when a croud is at the door.

Few are qualified to shine in company; but it is in most mens power to be agreeable. The reason therefore, why conversation runs so low at present,

is

is not the defect of underſtanding, but pride, vanity, ill-nature, affectation, ſingularity, poſitiveneſs, or ſome other vice, the effect of a wrong education.

To be vain is rather a mark of humility than pride. Vain men delight in telling what honours have been done them, what great company they have kept, and the like; by which they plainly confeſs that theſe honours were more than their due, and ſuch as their friends would not believe if they had not been told: whereas a man truly proud thinks the greateſt honours below his merit, and conſequently ſcorns to boaſt. I therefore deliver it as a maxim, that whoever deſires the character of a proud man, ought to conceal his vanity.

Law, in a free country, is, or ought to be, the determination of the majority of thoſe who have property in land.

One argument uſed to the diſadvantage of providence, I take to be a very ſtrong one in its defence. It is objected, that ſtorms and tempeſts, unfruitful ſeaſons, ſerpents, ſpiders, flies, and other noxious or troubleſome animals, with many more inſtances of the like kind, diſcover an imperfection in nature, becauſe human life would be much eaſier without them: but the deſign of providence may clearly be perceived in this proceeding. The motions of the ſun and moon; in ſhort, the whole ſyſtem of the univerſe, as far as philoſophers have been able to diſcover and obſerve, are in the utmoſt degree of regularity and perfection; but wherever God hath left to man the power of interpoſing a remedy by thought or labour, there he hath placed things in a ſtate of imperfection on purpoſe to ſtir up human induſtry, without which life would ſtagnate, or indeed rather could not ſubſiſt at all: *Curis acuunt mortalia corda.*

Praiſe is the daughter of preſent power.

How inconſiſtent is man with himſelf ?

I have known ſeveral perſons of great fame for wiſdom in public affairs and councils governed by fooliſh ſervants.

I have known great miniſters, diſtinguiſhed for wit and learning, who preferred none but dunces.

I have known men of great valour cowards to their wives.

I have known men of the greateſt cunning perpetually cheated.

I knew three great miniſters, who could exactly compute and ſettle the accounts of a kingdom, but were wholly ignorant of their own œconomy.

The preaching of divines helps to preſerve well-inclined men in the courſe of virtue, but ſeldom or never reclaims the vicious.

Princes uſually make wiſer choices than the ſervants whom they truſt for the diſpoſal of places. I have known a prince, more than once, chuſe an able miniſter ; but I never obſerved that miniſter to uſe his credit in the diſpoſal of an employment to a perſon whom he thought the fitteſt for it. One of the greateſt in this age owned and excuſed the matter from the violence of parties, and the unreaſonableneſs of friends.

Small cauſes are ſufficient to make a man uneaſy, when great ones are not in the way : for want of a block he will ſtumble at a ſtraw.

Dignity, high ſtation, or great riches, are in ſome ſort neceſſary to old men, in order to keep the younger at a diſtance, who are otherwiſe too apt to inſult them upon the ſcore of their age.

Every man deſires to live long ; but no man would be old. Love of flattery in moſt men proceeds from the mean opinion they have of themſelves ; in women from the contrary.

If books and laws continue to increaſe as they have done for fifty years paſt, I am in ſome concern

cern for future ages, how any man will be learned, or any man a lawyer.

Kings are commonly ſaid to have long hands; I wiſh they had as long ears.

Princes in their infancy, childhood and youth, are ſaid to diſcover prodigious parts and wit, to ſpeak things that ſurpriſe and aſtoniſh: ſtrange, ſo many hopeful princes, and ſo many ſhameful kings! If they happen to die young, they would have been prodigies of wiſdom and virtue: if they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of another ſort.

Politics, as the word is commonly underſtood, are nothing but corruptions, and conſequently of no uſe to a good king, or a good miniſtry; for which reaſon courts are ſo over-run with politics.

Silenus, the foſter-father of Bacchus, is always carried by an aſs, and has horns on his head. The moral is, that drunkards are led by fools, and have a great chance to be cuckolds.

Venus, a beautiful good-natured lady, was the goddeſs of love; Juno, a terrible ſhrew, the goddeſs of marriage; and they were always mortal enemies.

Thoſe who are againſt religion, muſt needs be fools: and therefore we read, that, of all animals, God refuſed the firſt-born of an aſs.

A very little wit is valued in a woman, as we are pleaſed with a few words ſpoken plain by a parrot.

A nice man is a man of naſty ideas.

Apollo was held the god of phyſic, and ſender of diſeaſes. Both were originally the ſame trade, and ſtill continue.

Old men and comets have been reverenced for the ſame reaſon; their long beards, and pretences to foretel events.

A perſon was aſked at court what he thought of an ambaſſador, and his train, who were all embroidery and lace, full of bows, cringes, and geſ-

tures; he ſaid it was Solomon's importation, gold and apes.

There is a ſtory in Pauſanias of a plot for betraying of a city diſcovered by the braying of an aſs: the cackling of geeſe ſaved the capitol, and Cataline's conſpiracy was diſcovered by a whore. Theſe are the only three animals, as far as I remember, famous in hiſtory as evidences and informers.

Moſt ſorts of diverſion in men, children, and other animals, are an imitation of fighting.

Auguſtus meeting an aſs with a lucky name, foretold himſelf good fortune. I meet many aſſes but none of them have lucky names.

If a man makes me keep my diſtance, the comfort is, he keeps his at the ſame time.

Who can deny that all men are violent lovers of truth, when we ſee them ſo poſitive in their errors, which they will maintain out of their zeal to truth, although they contradict themſelves every day of their lives?

That was excellently obſerved, ſay I, when I read a paſſage in an author, where his opinion agrees with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him to be miſtaken.

Very few men, properly ſpeaking, live at preſent, but are providing to live another time.

As univerſal a practice as lying is, and as eaſy a one as it ſeems, I do not remember to have heard three good lies in all my converſation, even from thoſe who were moſt celebrated in that faculty.

The End of the FIFTH VOLUME.

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